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A STUDY OF THE SOURCES
AND COMPOSITION OF THE
OLD FRENCH LAI D'HAVELOC

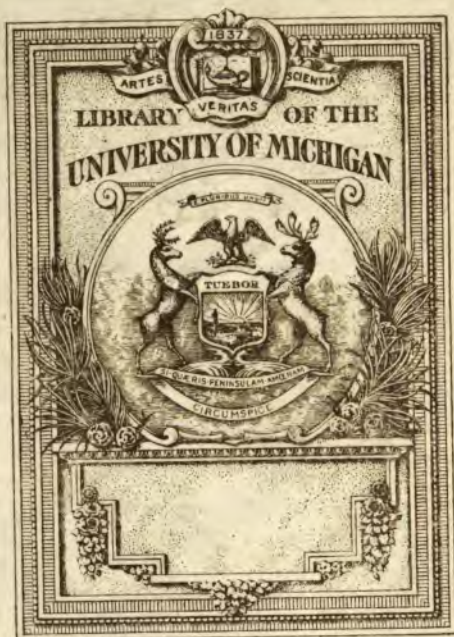
A DISSERTATION

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN
PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

MAY, 1908

BY

EDITH FAHNESTOCK



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Preface

The publication of this dissertation, presented, in 1908, to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, has been delayed by various chances culminating in the loss of a manuscript left with a German publisher two years ago, and the necessity of preparing another manuscript for press here.

Although phases of the problems concerning Havelok have been discussed in articles that have appeared during this time, nothing, so far as I know, has been published that affects my conclusions, or that would lead to other than slight modifications in my work. The article by Professor Creek in the current number of the *Englische Studien*, on the author of the English Lay of *Havelok*, in so far as it touches on my subject, points to the conclusions to which my comparison of the French and English versions has led me.

I thank especially Mr. Foulet who has given me the benefit of valuable criticism, and Miss Helen E. Sandison who has most kindly assisted me in reading proof.

EDITH FAHNESTOCK.

Vassar College,
May, 1915.

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I

Introduction

The *Lai d'Havelok* is an Old French poem which tells the story of an exiled prince, Havelok, who married the niece of an English king in whose kitchen he had served as scullion. After many adventures Havelok regained his own realm and also his wife's English kingdom which had long been withheld from her by her treacherous uncle.

Though this tale belongs to Scandinavian saga, it is told in the form of a Lay — that is, a short narrative poem containing a prologue and an epilogue, in which the author alludes to the Bretons and a lay of theirs on the subject of Havelok. Since, however, the story of Havelok is foreign to the Bretons and is yet connected with their lays, it seems probable that an investigation of this lay may throw light on the general question of the Bretons and their lays. Aside from its connection with the Bretons, however, the *Lai d'Havelok* deserves special study as one of the best and earliest of the Old French lays, and as one of the several very interesting works dealing with the adventures of this hero which have come down to us. It is my purpose in the present study to determine, if possible, the source or sources of the poem, and to examine carefully the author's adaptation of his material to the literary form of the lay.

The longest and most important of the versions of the story are the following:

1. The Havelok episode in Geffrei Gaimar's *Lestorie des Engles*,¹ date 1147-1151.²

¹ There are 3 Mss. containing Gaimar's Havelok episode, which are designated in the Hardy-Martin edition as follows: (*M*) British Museum, Ms. Royal 13 A. XXI; (*D*) Durham Cathedral, Ms. C. IV. 27; (*L*) Lincoln Cathedral, Ms. A. 4/12 (formerly H. 18. 3). Gaimar's Havelok episode has been published four times, as follows: (1) by Sir Frederick Madden in his edition of *Havelok*, 1828; (2) by Petrie in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London, 1848; (3) by Thomas Wright (Caxton Society), London, 1850; (4) by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy and C. T. Martin (Rolls Series), London, 1888, XCI, part I, 1-34.

² Gaston Paris, *Lit. fr. au moyen-âge*, 3d ed., Paris, 1900, p. 273, dates the *Estorie* about 1148. He gives as time limits 1145-1151 (p. 15).

2. The *Lai d'Haveloc le Danois*,³ date about 1170 according to Gaston Paris,⁴ the second half of the twelfth century according to Deutschbein.⁵
3. The English romance called *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*,⁶ date about 1300 according to Skeat,⁷ a few decades earlier according to Deutschbein.⁸
4. The *Lambeth version*,⁹ an interpolation in the chronicle of Robert of Brunne, who wrote in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁰ The interpolation is of later date.¹¹

The story of Havelok is found also in various chronicles in more or less condensed form.¹² Heyman¹³ and Brie¹⁴ have already shown that these accounts, generally called the minor versions, are derived from one or more of the principal versions with the addition of other details. Since I have failed to discover primitive traits of the story in these minor versions, I shall pass over them in all the discussion of the sources of the

³ In 2 Mss.—(1) Herald's College, Arundel XIV, mentioned as *H* in the enumeration of the Mss. of Gaimar's *Estorie*, Hardy-Martin edition, preface, pp. xxix–xxxiii, and (2) Ms. *P*, Cheltenham, Thirlestane House, Philipps 3713. Ms. *H* has been published four times, as follows: (1) by Sir F. Madden, in his edition of *Havelok*, 1828; (2) by Fr. Michel, *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, Paris, 1883, I; (3) by Thomas Wright (Caxton Society), London, 1850; (4) by Sir Thomas Hardy and C. T. Martin, in the work cited in note 1. This edition also contains readings from Ms. *P*, which has never been published.

⁴ Gaston Paris, *op. cit.* p. 274.

⁵ Deutschbein, *Studien zur sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1906, p. 98.

⁶ In 1 Ms., Oxford, Bodleian, Ms. Laud Misc. 108, published four times, as follows: (1) by Sir F. Madden for the Roxburghe Club, 1828; (2) by Skeat, E. E. T. S., ext. ser., IV, 1868, 1889; (3) Holthausen, *Old and Middle English Texts*, London, 1901; (4) Skeat's edition revised for the Clarendon Press, 1902.

⁷ Skeat, ed. 1902, Introd., pp. xxiv–xxv.

⁸ Deutschbein, *op. cit.* p. 97.

⁹ In 1 Ms., the Lambeth copy of Robert Manning of Brunne's *Story of England*, published by Madden and Skeat in the prefaces to their editions of the English Lay. Cf. Skeat, ed. 1868, pp. xi–xiii, and ed. 1902, pp. xlv–xlvii.

¹⁰ Deutschbein, *op. cit.* p. 96.

¹¹ See p. 13.

¹² For a list of minor versions see Madden, Skeat, Heyman, and Brie.

¹³ Harold E. Heyman, *Studies on the Havelok Tale*, Inaugural dissertation, Upsala, 1903, ch. V. *The minor versions*.

¹⁴ Fr. Brie, *Zum Fortleben der Havelok-sage*, *Englische Studien*, 1905, XXXV, 359–371.

French poem, and shall consider only the principal versions as Kupferschmidt and Putnam have done.¹⁵

This study, as has been said, is concerned with the second of the principal versions—the French Lay, and the other longer works will be considered only when necessarily involved in questions relating to the sources of the Lay. Much has been written on the origin and development of the Havelok saga, as well as on the sources and relationship of the various versions. With the opinions concerning the legend itself, I have, of course, nothing to do; I am considering the source and composition of one literary product—the French Lay. Nevertheless, what has been written concerning the derivation of the other versions, in so far as it affects the French Lay, must be reviewed in its general outlines before an investigation of the Lay itself is undertaken.

When the question of sources was first approached by students of the English Lay, they mentioned the fact that the Havelok story was found in Gaimar's *Estorie* and in a French Lay, and without close examination ventured the hypothesis that Gaimar had abridged the somewhat longer French Lay. Skeat added that Gaimar must have had some additional source.¹⁶ Petrie, who was skeptical as to Gaimar's authorship of the Havelok episode in his *Estorie*, thought that both this account and that of the French Lay reflected an earlier romance.¹⁷

The first person who seriously considered the derivation of the versions was Kupferschmidt.¹⁸ His study is important because he first attempted to establish the chronological order of the versions, and also because his conclusions have been generally accepted. The two points definitely settled by him were that the Havelok episode was written by Gaimar and therefore composed between 1147 and 1151, and that the French Lay,

¹⁵ These versions contribute interesting points bearing on the history of the English romance. But since these points have not changed the conclusions reached in this study, and since the English romance is considered only when it is necessary to a discussion of the sources of the French poems, an investigation of them must be left for another study.

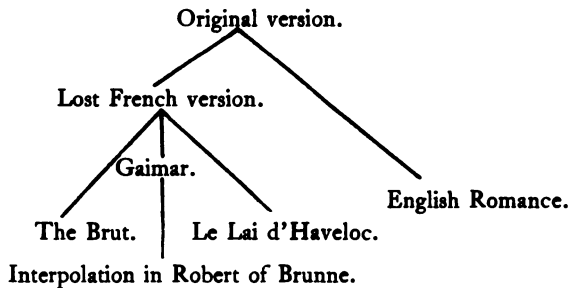
¹⁶ Skeat, ed. 1868, *Introd.*, p. iv, §5. See also Storm, who speaks of the French Lay as composed in the first half of the twelfth century and abridged by Gaimar about 1145. *Eng. Stud.* 1880, III, 533.

¹⁷ Petrie, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, London, 1848, I, 765, n. b.

¹⁸ *Die Haveloksaage bei Gaimar und ihr Verhältnis zum Lai d'Haveloc, Romanische Studien*, 1880, IV, 411–430.

which dated from the beginning of the thirteenth century, could not have been abridged by him. The more recent date given for the French Lay is the second half of the twelfth century,¹⁹ but since Gaimar's work belongs to the first half of the twelfth century, the chronological order of the versions established by Kupferschmidt still holds.

Having overthrown the hypothesis that Gaimar abridged the Lay, Kupferschmidt had to decide whether the author of the Lay used Gaimar, or whether both came from a common source. He found some details in Gaimar that were not in the French Lay, and some in the Lay that were not in Gaimar. Since these details were found also in the English Lay, a version²⁰ which he claimed had developed independently beside the two French versions, he concluded that the only possible theory was that of a common source. Kupferschmidt's system of derivation is, therefore, the following:²¹



Gaston Paris,²² in his brief notice of the article, pronounced Kupferschmidt's conclusions plausible; and Gröber²³ added to his announcement of the study his opinion that Kupferschmidt's conclusions seemed convincing. This derivation, modified slightly, has since then been generally accepted.

Two scholars, however, though they have not affected prevailing sentiment, have expressed opinions at variance with

¹⁹ Deutschbein, *op. cit.* p. 98.

²⁰ Kupferschmidt, *op. cit.* p. 429, a version "die sich unabhängig neben den zwei französischen Versionen entwickelt hat." A reference is given to Skeat, ed. 1868, Pref. §20.

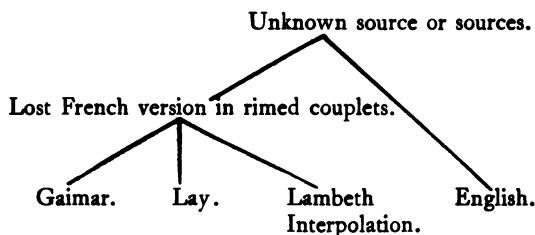
²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

²² Gaston Paris, *Romania*, 1880, IX, 480. "Ces conclusions paraissent plausibles."

²³ Gröber, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1880, IV, 466.

Kupferschmidt's conclusions. Axel Ahlström²⁴ thought it extremely unlikely that so highly developed a lay as would have been required for Kupferschmidt's hypothesis should have existed as early as 1150, and consequently deemed it simplest and safest to consider oral tradition, and not a finished metrical romance, as the basis of the French Lay. Ward²⁵ decided that the French Lay was enlarged from Gaimar. He gives six reasons for his opinion. Of these Putnam says: "His attempt to derive the Lay directly from Gaimar cannot be accepted. Every one of his six arguments can be used with equal force in favor of a common source for Gaimar and the Lay." Ward does not answer Kupferschmidt's arguments; it is possible, as Putnam suggests,²⁶ that he did not know of Kupferschmidt's discussion of the question in *Romanische Studien*.

The *Brut*²⁷ is no longer considered an independent version, and the *Lambeth Interpolation* has been regarded as a principal version since Putnam derived it from the lost metrical romance instead of from Gaimar.²⁸ With this change of detail, Putnam's work only confirms Kupferschmidt's results. His scheme of derivation is as follows:²⁹



²⁴ Axel Ahlström, *Studier i den fornfranska lais litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 124. "These traditions were transmitted to the author of the lay by Anglo-Bretons."

²⁵ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Mss. in the British Museum*, 1883, I, 437-446. Cf. "The existing text of the fuller Lay is of the 13th century; but it may possibly, of course, represent an earlier Lay, which has been abridged by Gaimar. But we believe, on the contrary, that the fuller Lay was simply enlarged from Gaimar's version, and enlarged by a minstrel who probably knew nothing about the Lincolnshire legends of Havelok." Again (p. 440), "The French Lay, then, we regard as a literary offshoot of Gaimar's version."

²⁶ Putnam, *The Lambeth Version of Havelok*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1900, XV, 9, n. 2.

²⁷ Cf. Brie, *op. cit.* p. 363. "Heyman hatte demnach recht, wenn er der Havelok-episode im Brut jeden originellen zug absprach."

²⁸ Putnam, *op. cit.* pp. 1-16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

This Kupferschmidt-Putnam derivation³⁰ has prevailed since 1900–1901, in spite of the different views expressed by several

³⁰ The principal scholars who follow Kupferschmidt or Putnam are: (a) ten Brink, tr. H. M. Kennedy, *History of English Literature*, New York, 1889, p. 181. "A Norman song of *Havelok* must have appeared as early as the beginning of the twelfth century; and upon this was founded both the version of the saga in Gaimar, and a younger poem, probably not much later than 1150." (b) Holthausen, *Havelok*, London, 1901, Preface, p. ix. "The existing Old French *Lai d' Haveloc le danois* and the *Havelok*-episode in Geffrei Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles* bear only a very remote resemblance to the English version. Cf. Skeat's edition and Kupferschmidt. . . ." (c) Anna Hunt Billings (*A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances, Yale Studies in English*, 1901, IX, 21, 23) refers to Kupferschmidt. (d) Skeat in his edition of 1902, Introduction, p. xlvii, cites both Kupferschmidt and Putnam, as does (e) Heyman, *op. cit.* p. 146. (f) Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, p. 634, inclines to accept Kupferschmidt for the theory of the lost version, the source of Gaimar, although he does not follow his derivation of the French Lay. Cf. p. 471: "Ziemlich wahrscheinlich ist, dass schon vor 1150 ein anglofranzösisches Gedicht von dem Geschick des ausgesetzten Königssohns *Haveloc* erzählte, der in seiner Erniedrigung eine entthronte Königstochter, [heiratete] und den Verfolgern zum Trotz Land und Thron zurückgewinnt." A reference in a footnote calls attention to Kupferschmidt. Also, p. 473, in speaking of Gaimar's *Estorie*, Gröber adds: "Erhalten blieb davon die zweite, die Jahre 495–1100 umfassende Hälfte . . . begleitet von einer Bearbeitung der *Haveloksage* . . . nach älterer französischer Vorlage gedichtet." (g) Schofield also follows in part the Kupferschmidt-Putnam theory in his *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, London, New York, 1906, p. 267. He says: "In the twelfth century, when the treasure-trove of the Saxons was so extensively appropriated by the Anglo-Normans, were composed, it appears, at least two French poems on *Havelok*—one, the more primitive, apparently a metrical romance, the other in the likeness of a Breton lay. Only the latter is preserved; but of the romance we have a summary interpolated in the manuscript of Robert of Brunne's chronicle." (h) Wohlfeil, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 11, does not decide between Skeat's former opinion (ed. 1868) and Kupferschmidt's. "Wir werden vielmehr auf jeden Fall ein englisches Original anzunehmen haben, unbeschadet dessen, ob wir mit Skeat der Ansicht sein mögen, dass das französische und englische Lay beide unmittelbar aus derselben englischen Quelle geschöpft haben, oder mit Kupferschmidt die Überzeugung haben, dass das französische Lay und Gaimars Bearbeitung der Sage nicht direkt auf dieses englische Original, sondern auf eine verloren gegangene . . . französische Romanze zurückgehen, die ihrerseits erst dem Original entnommen ist." (i) Deutschbein, *op. cit.* p. 100, hesitates, but decides in favor of Kupferschmidt-Putnam. "Der Verlauf der Erzählung im Lai deckt sich im ganzen mit der Darstellung Gaimars. Man möchte daher auch annehmen, dass der Dichter des Lais Gaimar als direkte Vorlage benutzt habe. . . . Auf der anderen Seite scheint der Lai ursprüngliche Elemente der Sage besser bewahrt zu haben—vor allem sind einzelne Szenen stärker ausgebildet: . . . so halte ich es für wahrscheinlich, dass Gaimar und der Lai aus einer gemeinsamen Quelle, vielleicht einem anglonormannischen Gedicht in kurzen Reimpaaren geschöpft haben,

eminent critics. Gröber,³¹ because the Lay—the more recent reworking of the *Havelok* saga—coincides at times word for word with Gaimar's episode, concludes that the author must have known Gaimar's account, and that his poem is a free narration of the tale offering only epic commonplaces in addition to Gaimar's incidents. Suchier,³² Gollancz,³³ and Foulet³⁴ express the same opinion without giving reasons, and Warnke also inclines to this view.³⁵

Because these opinions have been given merely as opinions, with no proof of their validity or disproof of the conclusions of Kupferschmidt and Putnam, they have left unshaken this theory of the derivation of the various versions of the *Havelok* tale, which is generally adhered to in other critical and literary discussions bearing on *Havelok*. But these opinions, although held by a minority of those who have approached the question, deserve attention.

In spite of the fact that much has been already written on *Havelok*, two considerations seem to justify a new study of the French Lay. If the source of this poem were known, the

wie dies Kupferschmidt, Putnam . . . angenommen haben. Die andere Möglichkeit, dass der Verfasser des *Lais* von Gaimar ausgegangen sei und mit grösserem Geschick den ursprünglichen Zusammenhang erkannt habe, halte ich für ausgeschlossen, da er sonst seinem Stoff verständnislos gegenübersteht. (j) Zenker, *Boeve-Amlethus*, Berlin, 1905, p. 92, finds Kupferschmidt's conclusions plausible, although he mentions Suchier's and Gollancz's differing views.

³¹ Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, p. 634, speaks of the French Lay as "eine *lai* sich nennende Neubearbeitung der halbhistorischen Haveloksage . . . die in der englischen Landessprache nach einheimischer Überlieferung erzählt wurde, auf der auch die Vorlage von Geoffrey Gaimars Dichtung über *Havelok* beruhte. Mit Gaimar trifft die Neubearbeitung einigemale im Wortlaut zusammen, so dass ihr Verfasser Gaimar gekannt haben muss. Im übrigen ist sie freie Nacherzählung des Stoffes, bietet aber nur epische Gemeinplätze über Gaimar hinaus mehr."

³² Suchier and Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der französischen Literatur*, Leipzig, 2d. ed. 1913, p. 124. Suchier says in speaking of the Lay: "Der Dichter, der am Schluss einen alten (musikalischen) *Lai Haveloc* erwähnt, hat gleichwohl die erzählte Geschichte aus Gaimars Chronik entlehnt."

³³ Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, London, 1898, Introd. p. xli. "As regards the *Lai*, it is almost certainly derived from Gaimar's terser version."

³⁴ L. Foulet, *Marie de France et les Lais bretons*, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1905, XXIX, 55.

³⁵ Warnke, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, *Bibliotheca Normannica*, Halle, 1900, Introd. p. xv. "Das uns erhaltene Gedicht von *Havelok* selbst mag freilich mit Unrecht ein *Lai* genannt werden, da es vielleicht von der Darstellung desselben Gegenstandes bei Gaimar abhängig ist."

problem of the relationship of the other versions of the story would be simplified for a future investigation such as Vising suggested for the English Lay.³⁶ Furthermore, as has been stated, definite knowledge respecting the source and composition of such a lay as that of *Havelok* may contribute something to the subject of the Bretons, their lays, and the Old French narrative lays.

Before an independent study of the *Lai d'Havelok* can be undertaken, however, the articles by Putnam and Kupferschmidt which give all the detail of the previous discussion must be carefully examined. This examination will form the subject of Chapters II and III. Putnam's study will be considered first, since his results seem to confirm those of Kupferschmidt.

³⁶ Vising, *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der rom. Phil.*, 1905, VII, part 2, 91. "Eine erneute Prüfung wird vielleicht mehr Licht bringen."

II

A Consideration of Putnam's Study, *The Lambeth Version of Havelok*

The article by Putnam on the *Lambeth Interpolation*, which, as has been seen, is the second important contribution to the development of the Kupferschmidt-Putnam theory, has as its subject the abridgment of the Havelok tale that is found in the Lambeth manuscript² of the *Story of England* which Robert Mannyng of Brunne³ (Bourne) completed in 1338. Robert, well known as the author of a didactic treatise full of anecdote called *Handlyng Synne*, used as his chief sources for the *Story of England* Wace and Peter of Langtoft; he reluctantly discarded as unauthenticated the Havelok tale, which he knew from some source. The story, however, was added by a later writer. It consists of 82 lines in rhymed pairs, and the language is, according to Putnam, such as might have been written at the end of the fourteenth century.⁴

Putnam notes in the first place that the *Lambeth Interpolation* has never received the consideration it deserves. Madden,⁵ he says, attributed it to the scribe, who had made other changes in the manuscript, and considered it an abridgment of the Havelok story apparently copied from Gaimar. Skeat⁶ repeated Madden's opinion, and Kupferschmidt⁷ also accepted this view without further investigation.

Putnam next observes that the Interpolation is closer to the French versions than to the English, and that it is more like

¹ Edward Kirby Putnam, *The Lambeth Version of Havelok*, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1900, XV, 1-16.

² The two existing manuscripts of Robert's *Story of England* are the Lambeth and the Inner Temple. The latter was published by Hearne, 1725.

³ Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, p. 362.

⁴ Putnam, p. 2.

⁵ Madden, ed. for the Roxburghe Club, London, 1828, p. xvii. (Putnam, p. 1.)

⁶ Skeat, ed. 1868, p. xi.

⁷ M. Kupferschmidt, *Die Haveloksage bei Gaimar, etc.*, *Rom. Stud.*, 1880, IV, 411-430.

Gaimar than like the French Lay in the following points: (1) the names agree; (2) the invasion of Denmark is for tribute which is withheld (Lamb. 2-4, Gaimar 410-411), but in the Lay it is to demand tribute (27-30); (3) Grim in both poems appears as a mariner, whereas in the Lay he is a baron (Lamb. 14, Gaimar 423, Lay 57); (4) Edulf is defeated in a general battle and not, as in the Lay, in a single combat (Lamb. 70-72, Gaimar 739-742, Lay 940-970); (5) the geographical details agree. In these points Gaimar and the Interpolation are simpler and seem to present the more primitive form of the story and the spirit of the original. Although Putnam's second point is rather a question of emphasis than of vital difference, the other points, especially 1 and 5, indicate beyond a doubt a very close resemblance between the Interpolation and Gaimar.

But, as Putnam's further discussion shows, differences as well as resemblances exist between the Interpolation and Gaimar, and these very points of difference correspond to traits found in the French Lay. The most striking of the variations between the Interpolation and Gaimar is the order in which events are narrated in the opening portions of the two poems. Gaimar tells first of Argentille and England; the Interpolation, however, begins with Havelok and Denmark, and in this corresponds to the French Lay. Other points of resemblance between the Interpolation and the Lay are as follows: (1) Gunter's enemies plan to shame his family (Lamb. 9, Lay 79-82); (2) in the Interpolation Edelsi is "of Breton kynde" (Lamb. 31, Lay 200), in the Lay "Bret par lignage" (200); (3) in the Interpolation and in the Lay Havelok and Argentille are married, whereas in Gaimar no formal marriage takes place (Lamb. 47, Lay 377-380); (4) the statement in the Interpolation that the king brings about the marriage though many are wroth seems to correspond to the account given in the Lay of the anger of the barons at the king's violation of his oath (Lamb. 48, Lay 279-376); (5) the departure of Havelok from Grimsby is described in both the Interpolation and the Lay and antedates Grim's death (Lamb. 27, 56, Lay 157-192, 565), whereas in Gaimar there is no such description and Havelok leaves Grimsby after Grim's death; (6) the fight between Edelsi and Havelok is introduced abruptly by Gaimar (Lamb. 75-76, Lay 1007-1026), whereas in the Interpolation and in the Lay there is mentioned the gathering of a host by Edelsi.

Let us investigate each of the points suggested by Putnam.

(1) Gunter's enemies plan to shame his family. The Interpolation has: "When he was ded they schope brynge al his blod to schame." In the Lay (81 ff.) we read that Hodulf drove Gunter's friends out of the land. Grim and the queen feared he would take the castle and kill Havelok. Grim fled with the boy and the queen for fear of the evil king: (96) "Tost feroit a li deshonor." This shows more fear of Hodulf than any expressed intention on the part of the latter to harm them. This point is, therefore, not of weight. In Gaimar, the queen is afraid and flees.

(2) Edelsi is "of Breton kynde." Gaimar has (61) "Li altre rei estait Breton." Both Gaimar's expression and that of the Lay, "Bret par lignage," could be represented in English by "of Breton kynde."⁸ This point may, therefore, be set aside.

(3) Havelok and Argentille are married in the Interpolation and the Lay; in Gaimar no formal marriage takes place. This statement is erroneous, for, although Gaimar affirms (174-175):

Honist sa nece, a son espeir,
E la dona a son quistrun,

yet he shows by two other passages how those lines are to be interpreted (596-598):

E ceste dame iert sa parente.
Si cum lui plut la me donad,
E ensemble nus espusad.

Also, 99-102:

Pur lerite kil coveitat,
Sa nece mesmariat.
Il la donat a un garçon,
Ki Cuheran aveit a nun.

(4) The anger of the barons at Edelsi's violation of his oath in the Lay seems to correspond to the statement in the Interpolation that he brought about the marriage although "were

⁸ Cf. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.* ed. 1882, p. 315. Kind, nature, sort, character. *A New English Dictionary*, I, (1) Birth, origin, descent; Obs. (b) In phrases, through, by, of kind: right of birth, right or position derived from birth. (2) The station, place, or property belonging to one by birth; one's native place or position. II, A class, group, or division of things. (10 b) Used in poetry, with defining word, in the general sense of race; 1362, Langl. P. Pl. A XI, 282: Cristene kynde to kille to dethe. Or *kynde* can mean (11 d) descent, genealogy. Cf. also Robert of Brunne's own use of the word in regretting the lack of a source "pat tellis of Haneloc Kynde," ed. Hearne, p. 26.

manion ful wrothe" (Lambeth 48, Lay 279-376). The ninety-seven lines referred to in the Lay include the entire description of the interviews of the king with the barons and councillors, with his threat and the mention of guards placed in the assembly room. After he had stated his purpose, the barons said that they would not permit him to carry out such an intention. The author states:

Ia ieust granz coups donez,
Quant il fet venir les armez.

There would have been fighting, but soldiers brought in by the king prevented. This resistance seems different from the wrath reported by the author of the Interpolation. One feels that perhaps it is merely the effort of the author of the more courtly poem to protect the reputation of his barons. Both comments could have been made independently. The line in the Interpolation may possibly have been brought in for the rhyme.

He dide hem arraye ful symplely, & wedde togydere bothe,
For he ne rewarded desparagyng, were manion ful wrothe.

(5) The departure of Havelok from Grimsby. At first sight there seems to be a striking similarity between the Interpolation and the Lay in this respect, but, if the facts in the two cases are compared, the parallelism is less patent. In the Lay Grim sends Havelok to court "pour aprendre sens et avoir querre,"⁹ whereas in the Interpolation Havelok goes to court because he is a "man of mykel cost," that has to serve "for his grete sustenance."¹⁰ The spirit of the Lay and the reasons for Havelok's departure are totally different from those of the Interpolation; the resemblance is merely in the time of the episode with respect to Grim's death.

(6) The fight between Edelsi and Havelok is introduced abruptly by Gaimar. In the Interpolation and in the Lay the gathering of a host by Edelsi is mentioned.¹¹ This fact seems a most casual detail in the description of a battle, and one that, unless there is an unexpected attack, can be omitted or expressed at will. Gaimar certainly implies that an army had been assem-

⁹ Lay, 174.

¹⁰ Int., 25-26.

¹¹ Putnam's reference to the description in the Lay includes 1007-1026. 1007-1018 report the arrival of Havelok's messengers at court and the mockery with which they were greeted. 1018-1022 describe their return. The assembly of the army on the appointed day at Theford is told in five lines.

bled in (769) "Mult i out homes afolez" (in *D* and *L* *assemblies*). This line follows the description of the battle. In 761 he had already stated that Havelok "Od sa grant ost la mer passa." Hence, the fact that the Lay and the Interpolation both mention Edelsi's gathering of a host cannot have weight as an argument to prove the similarity of the two versions.

Putnam himself did not attach equal importance to all his arguments, for he adds:¹² "It is difficult to imagine that all these resemblances are accidental. The first two and the last might be so, but the others seem to point to details in a source common to both the Interpolation and the Lay. This common source cannot be Gaimar, because in these points Gaimar differs. Moreover, in all three points Gaimar, rather than the other versions, seems to show a change from what must have been the original form of the story."

Point 3, that of the marriage, which is one of the most important points, as we have seen, will not hold. Points 1, 2, and 6 are vague possible resemblances inadequate for proof, and 4 may be quite as casual. The only point showing definite resemblance is 5, and even here the likeness consists merely in the time of the departure of Havelok from Grimsby. The circumstances and the tone of the accounts are wholly different.

Putnam's subsequent statement is, therefore, unwarranted. He says: "The number of important details common to the Interpolation and the Lay and the exact agreement in the order of the narrative establish a close relationship between the two and a common source independent of Gaimar." But since we have not found a number of important details common to the Interpolation and the Lay that confirm the relationship of the versions which the similarity of the order of events narrated in the two poems seems to indicate, an investigation of this similarity becomes necessary. Could anything other than a source in common with the French Lay explain the Danish beginning of the Interpolation?

Robert of Brunne in the second part of his chronicle translated Peter of Langtoft.¹³ Peter, after telling of Rollo and Alfred and the departure of the former for Normandy, continued:¹⁴

¹² Putnam, *op. cit.* p. 8.

¹³ Peter mentioned Grim and Grimsby in the earlier part of the chronicle "A val de Grymesby, ke Grym jadis fesayt." Ed. Wright, *Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain*, XL, part I, 24.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

Alfrede of ses Englays demort en ses regnez.
 Taunt cum vers le north Alfred est alez,
 Gountere,¹⁵ le pere Havelok, de Danays ray clamez,
 Of grant chualerye est Engleterre entrez,
 Destrut ad les viles et arses les cytez.
 Les Norays s'atyrent le ray les ad maundeiz,
 Of le ray Gountere en chaump sunt encountrez.
 Les clers saint Chuthbert sun cors unt levez
 Hors del sepulture ou fust entoumbez,
 VII. aunz parmy la terre le corsaint fu portez,
 Dunt le rays Alfrede fu sovent confortez.
 Kant Alfred et Gountere ensemble ount guerreez,
 Gountere par aide de Deu chaunge voluntez.
 Le rays Alfred pur veirs de founte li ad levez,
 XXX. des melx vayllaunz of ly sunt baptizez,
 Retournent Cristyens ke vindrent renaez.

Robert Mannyng¹⁶ followed Peter closely in telling of Rollo and Alfred and of Rollo's passing over into Normandy, leaving Alfred "stille here in Inglond." Then follow the lines:

ȝit a noȝer Danes kyng in þe North gan aryve.
 Alfrid it herd, þidere gan he dryue.
 Hanelok fader he was, Gunter was his name.
 He brent citees & tounes, ouer alle did he schame.

The incident of St. Cuthbert's clerks is also told. Then, when Gunter and Alfred had waged war a long time, through God's grace Gunter was converted.

Cristend wild he be, þe kyng of fonte him lift,
 E þritty of his knyghtes turnes, þorgh Gode's gift.

This mention of Hanelok (Havelok) makes Robert desire to tell the story of Havelok, but he writes instead the interestingly naïve passage (which Skeat has quoted in his Preface¹⁷) in which he regrets his inability to find a trustworthy account of Havelok. He begins:

Bot I haf grete ferly, that I fynd no man,
 That has writen in story, how Hauelok this lond wan.
 Noither Gildas, no Bede, no Henry of Huntinton,
 No William of Malmesbiri, ne Pers of Bridlynton,
 Writes not in þeir bokes of no kyng Athelwold, etc.

¹⁵ Peter, as has been often remarked, confused this Gunter with Gunter the Danish invader defeated by Alfred the Great, who in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle is called Godrum. Cf. Skeat, ed. 1902, Pref. xliii.

¹⁶ Peter Langtoft's Chronicle (as illustrated and improved by Thomas Hearne), Oxford, 1725, vol. I, p. 25.

¹⁷ Ed. 1868, p. x.

He says :

Thei mak no menyng whan, no in what date.
Bot that thise lowed men upon Inglish tellis,

and ends with the lines :

Sen I fynd non redy, that tellis of Havelok kynde,
Turne we to þat story that we written fynde.

Although Robert sought in vain an authentic account of the "rhyme," some one else was more successful or less critical and interpolated an outline of the Havelok story in the Lambeth Ms. of the *Story of England*. From the sense of the passage preceding the interpolation, it is clear that, however his source read, the author of the abridgment was forced to begin his account with Denmark and the Danish invader of England, who had just been named. It is solely because of the mention of Havelok and Gunter that the story is introduced, and to have begun with Edelsi and Ekenbright would have introduced events entirely foreign to the material of the chronicle at that point and emphasized the discrepancy in the time of the two episodes, that of Gurmond and Alfred, and that of the two English kings, the contemporaries of Constantine, the nephew of Arthur.

Moreover, a change from a source such as Gaimar would not have been hard to make, nor would it have demanded great skill on the part of the interpolator, who was in this case, as the condensed clear style of the passage shows, not unintelligent.¹⁸ The events told by Gaimar first concerned England and Argentille up to the time of Havelok's arrival at Edelsi's court. Then after the marriage, dream, and return to Grimsby, Havelok's story is told by Kelloc. In the Interpolation the facts of Havelok's life are not told by Kelloc, but are transferred to the beginning of the narrative and precede the account of Argentille. The order of events in each division remains unchanged. One modification was certainly made by the author. Arthur in connection with this part of the story of England was most incongruous, and he was replaced by an indefinite "Breton kyng" who went to Denmark to collect the tribute which "Arthur whylom nam." The change in the order of events in

¹⁸ Cf. Putnam, *op. cit.* p. 2. "The style is marked by extreme condensation, an entire incident often being told in a single line. As a result the story appears in a surprisingly complete form."

the Interpolation may therefore be easily explained, since the conditions of the chronicle furnish an obvious reason for it, and the argument based on the difference in this order of narration needs no longer to stand in the way of the hypothesis that Gaimar was used as the source of the Interpolation.

Putnam claims, however, that a comparison of the Interpolation with the English Lay confirms this conclusion of his, which we have just found unconvincing, that the Interpolation, the French Lay, and Gaimar all emanated from a common source. This source he had already described, as follows:¹⁹ "Though it is now lost there must have existed at some time a French version of the romance distinct from Gaimar and the Lay. That such a version did exist and was the common source of both Gaimar and the Lay has been effectively proved by Kupferschmidt." In a note he reiterates: "Kupferschmidt's investigation, already referred to, must be regarded as settling the fact that Gaimar and the Lay had a common source written in French octosyllabic rimed couplets." This lost French version, he says, was also the source of the Interpolation. A comparison of the Interpolation with the English Lay reveals: (a) traits which, since they exist only in the English version and in the Interpolation, must have been in the source of the English poem and of the lost French version from which the Interpolation came; (b) facts which, since they exist in the Interpolation, the English Lay, and in one of the French versions but not in the other, must have been in the source of the English Lay and of the two French versions, Gaimar and the Lay.

Under (a) Putnam enumerates the following points:²⁰ (1) Havelok's reason for leaving Grimsby (Lamb. 25-26, E. Lay 824-852); (2) the love which the folk at court feel for Havelok (Lamb. 44, E. Lay 955-958); (3) Edelsi hears that Havelok has come to the coast (Lamb. 75), and in E. Lay Godrich hears that Havelok has come to England (2531-2547). Although points 2 and 3 do not add anything really new to the accounts of the French versions, since Gaimar tells how gladly all gave to Havelok, since the author of the Lay reflects the same idea in the advice Grim gives Havelok to make himself loved, and since in both versions Edelsi must have heard of Havelok's approach, even if no special mention is made of it, yet point 1,

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

²⁰ 1 is the important point; 2 and 3 are mentioned, p. 12, n. 1.

on the other hand, is an important connecting link between the two versions.

Under (b), traits which exist in the Interpolation, in the English Lay, and in only one of the French versions, he names of those found in Gaimar the following: (1) the humble position of Grim; (2) the defeat of the usurper in general battle. Of those found in the Lay: (1) the marriage of Havelok; (2) Havelok finds Grim dead upon his return to Grimsby; (3) the calling out of the host. The points which are common to Gaimar are definite, but only one is found in the Lay, namely point 1, for point 2 is common to all the versions and not opposed to Gaimar²¹ as Putnam supposed, and 3 is a casual mention of a fact in accordance with Gaimar's description, although not especially mentioned by him. But 2 practically resolves itself into the difference in the time of leaving Grimsby, because in Gaimar Havelok left Grimsby after Grim's death, and in the other versions during his lifetime.

We now see that the real point of contact between the Interpolation, the English Lay, and the French Lay, this difference in the time of leaving Grimsby, is also the unexplained point of similarity between the Interpolation and the French Lay,²² as opposed to Gaimar. The circumstances of the departure, however, are quite different in these last named versions. The significance of the coincidence in the time of leaving Grimsby which we find in the Interpolation and in the English and French Lays is vastly increased by the fact that the conditions of the departure are exactly the same in the Interpolation and the English Lay.

It is interesting to note that the point which Heyman²³ mentions, as common to the English Lay and the Interpolation, is Havelok's appetite, and the only allusion to it in the Interpolation is the line in question where the reason for leaving Grimsby is given.

Must one believe with Putnam that the correspondence of details indicates a common source for the Interpolation and the French Lay? May not such details, on the other hand, be interpreted as signs of the influence, direct or indirect, of the English Lay?

²¹ Cf. this study p. 15.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 17.

²³ Heyman, *op. cit.* p. 145.

Putnam rejected as highly improbable the idea that the Lambeth Interpolation could have resulted from a combination of two or more versions. "Such a combination," he said, "would of course explain anything except itself. An interpolating scribe, for the sake of inserting into a chronicle an episode of less than a hundred lines, is not likely to take the trouble to compare varying versions of a romance, perhaps in more than one language, and to make out of them a consistent whole. . . . The Lambeth Interpolation tells a straightforward, consistent story, and any lack of clearness is due to nothing more than the extreme condensation."²⁴ And again he said concerning the episode of Havelok's departure from Grimsby: "As it is extremely improbable . . . that this agreement with the English romance is accidental, it seems to be clear that this must have been an element of the story in an early form."²⁵

But in opposition to Putnam the following points may be urged:

1. We are not considering, in the case of the Interpolation, the skillful fusion of two sources, since the basis of the account corresponds to Gaimar's story, and since the material taken from Gaimar may have been simply retouched by an author who knew the English Lay, or its source, or some closely related work. The interpolator, as we have seen, probably modified one detail independently when he substituted for Arthur an indefinite Breton king. He omitted all supernatural incidents, and introduced one statement which was very likely his own invention, since it has been found nowhere else, i.e., that Argentille was given to Havelok because of a "chere" she made him (44). Is it impossible that, under the direct or indirect influence of the English romance, he modified other details?

2. Robert, according to Skeat, was familiar with the English romance, for he quoted it or imitated it in his *Handlyng Synne*.²⁶ Skeat thinks Robert's allusion to the "ryme" that "lowed men upon Inglish tellis" refers to the romance we know. However that may be, it is not unlikely that the interpolator knew such a work as Robert mentions, and that Robert's words may have brought it to his mind and may have been the cause of his introducing into his account one or two points taken from it.

²⁴ Putnam, *op. cit.* p. 8.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁶ Skeat, ed. 1902, pp. xliii-xliv.

3. Perhaps the interpolator himself was not responsible for the combination of different sources. He may have taken his material from some French or English chronicle in which the fusion was already made. Such combinations are found among the minor versions of the Havelok story already referred to,²⁷ as for example in the Brut, which was studied by Brie, who found an earlier manuscript than that mentioned by Skeat in his introduction to Havelok.²⁸ From his investigations Brie knew that Gaimar had served as basis of the account of Havelok in the Brut, but he found that several points in the version correspond to the English romance and differ from Gaimar.²⁹ Some other work closely related to the English Lay,³⁰ if not the Lay itself in early form, is therefore reflected in this passage for which Gaimar furnished the greater part of the details. Other manuscripts of the Brut contain the story at greater length and with still more variety of incident. From the Brut the story passed into other chronicles. May it not be that some combination in a chronicle which was based chiefly on Gaimar, and which has not come down to us, has served the interpolator as a source?

Considering once more the Interpolation and Gaimar, we note that the principal events of the story of the Interpolation are all contained in Gaimar, with the exception of the episode of the departure from Grimsby.³¹ The few points that the Interpolation has in common with the French Lay alone may be due to

²⁷ See this study p. 6.

²⁸ Skeat, ed. 1868, pp. xiii-xiv.

²⁹ Brie, *Eng. Stud.* 1905, XXXV, 359-371; and Heyman, *op. cit.* pp. 146 and 147.

³⁰ I ought to call attention to the fact that the chronicles referred to may not reflect merely the versions which have been considered. There may have been various literary works derived from both Gaimar and the French Lay.

³¹ Putnam thinks the Interpolation and the English Lay preserve primitive traits in this episode, since it is natural to suppose there was a reason for leaving Grimsby. Grim's death furnished a reason of the same kind, he being regarded as Havelok's means of support—the provider of the family. I think it less likely that Gaimar changed. Gaimar in other cases has primitive traits, and here he has no reason for leaving out a famine and substituting Grim's death. The other writers change and modify statements, as we know. Unless bound to accept the common source theory, I am inclined to regard Gaimar's as the more primitive account. Condensation could not explain Gaimar's changes. His account is over eight hundred lines in length and the French Lay only eleven hundred, and Gaimar frequently enters into long and unimportant descriptions.

chance, and in any case they are vague and general. The Interpolation also agrees with Gaimar's account in many definite details, as Putnam showed, especially in the geography and proper names. All the names of characters mentioned in Gaimar with the exception of Kelloc occur in the Interpolation. (Eleyne is really the Alvive of Gaimar, as is shown by *Ms. D* of Gaimar, *Alleve*, and *Ms. L*, *Alleue*. The letter *u* has evidently been read *n*.)

Inasmuch as the evidence derived from the Interpolation seems to point more definitely to Gaimar than to the other versions, and since the differences may be explained as due directly to the influence of the English poem, is it not going too far to see in Putnam's explanation of the Interpolation a confirmation of Kupferschmidt's theory of the lost common source of the French Lay and Gaimar? If such a source existed for these works, the Interpolation may have been derived from it, but there is not evidence enough in the Interpolation to establish such a source.

Furthermore it seems that instead of corroborating Kupferschmidt's theory, Putnam's solution of the problem of the source of the Interpolation depends on the validity of Kupferschmidt's claims. The Interpolation may be explained as deriving from the lost common source of Gaimar and the French Lay, or from Gaimar modified by a few suggestions from the English Lay or a work closely related to it, or from some chronicle in which Gaimar's narrative was already fused with material later than Gaimar. Before we decide to follow Putnam in adopting the first of these hypotheses, the theory of the lost common source, it is expedient to turn to the study in which Kupferschmidt arrives at the conclusion that the French Lay and Gaimar emanated from a lost common source.

III

An Investigation of Kupferschmidt's Study, *The Haveloksaga in Gaimar and the relation between this version and the Lai d'Haveloc*¹

Two questions are discussed by Kupferschmidt in his study, *Die Haveloksaga bei Gaimar*: (1) Was the Havelok episode in Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles* written by him, or is it an interpolation? (2) What is the relationship between the two French versions of the story of Havelok? The first of these questions is of great importance, since the chronological order of the several versions of Havelok would be affected should this Havelok episode of the *Estorie* be an interpolation and possibly of much later date than Gaimar. Kupferschmidt decided that the episode of Havelok in Gaimar's *Estorie* was written by him. Vising² has discussed this part of Kupferschmidt's article; and although he corrects the writer's derivation of Gaimar's manuscripts, and points out inaccuracies, he concludes: "J'admets que la conclusion où s'arrête M. Kupferschmidt est la plus probable, lors même que je ne peux admettre que son raisonnement soit toujours bon ou correct."³ This recognition of the Havelok episode as Gaimar's establishes with certainty its date, since Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles* was written between 1147 and 1151.⁴

Before considering the second question, it will be necessary to

¹ *Rom. Stud.*, IV, 410-430.

² Vising, *Etude sur le dialecte anglo-normand du XII siècle*, Upsala, 1882, pp. 26-34.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 29. Vising states again (p. 30) that there are slight differences of language and versification between the episode of Havelok and other parts of Gaimar, but that these are attributable to the different sources used, and adds, "Mais en général ces deux parties se ressemblent étroitement. Seulement il ne faut pas baser une telle conclusion sur les faits rapportés par M. Kupferschmidt, car il a pris ses citations sans aucune critique."

⁴ Gaston Paris (*Littérature française au Moyen Age*, 3d ed., Paris, 1905, p. 273) places Gaimar's *Estorie* about 1148, and (p. 145) he gives 1147-1151 as the time limits for its composition.

determine whether the *Estorie* preceded or followed the French *Lai d'Havelok*. Kupferschmidt, who studied the rhymes of the latter poem, concluded that the rhyming of *ie: e* and *oit* (Lat. -abat): *eit* (Lat. -ebat) showed that the Lay could not be earlier than the thirteenth century.⁵ This result is of great importance since it shows: (1) that the *Lai d'Havelok* is not the oldest existing version of the Havelok saga as Madden and Skeat⁶ had supposed it to be; and (2) that, since the Lay is more recent than Gaimar, it could not have been abridged by the latter in his *Estorie*, as Madden, Skeat,⁷ and Storm⁸ had suggested. Recently Deutschbein,⁹ who had at his disposal the variants of the older manuscript of the Lay (Ms. P),¹⁰ found that the rhymes *ie: e*, and *out [= oit]: eit* in the afore-mentioned verb forms of the imperfect, were not used in that manuscript and were therefore not characteristic of the Lay itself, but that they were evidently changes made by a later scribe and found in Ms. H, the basis of the text which Kupferschmidt studied. Deutschbein then corrected the latter's date for the Lay, and placed it in the second half of the 12th century.¹¹ This, however, does not affect the results obtained by Kupferschmidt, inasmuch as the Lay is still more recent than the text of Gaimar, who consequently could not have abridged it.

After establishing the fact that Gaimar's *Estorie* preceded the Lay, Kupferschmidt cited from this poem thirty-four lines, which correspond almost word for word with lines of Gaimar's *Havelok*, and which show that some connection must have existed between the two poems. Since Kupferschmidt had settled in the negative the question of Gaimar's having abridged the Lay, there remained only two possible suppositions as to the

⁵ Cf. Kupferschmidt, *op. cit.* p. 424. "Eine Untersuchung der Reime des lai d'Havelok jedoch zeigt uns, dass dieses unmöglich vor dem Anfang des XIII Jahrhunderts entstanden sein kann."

⁶ Skeat, ed. 1868, §4. "This version was certainly composed in the first half of the 12th century."

⁷ Skeat, ed. 1868, §5.

⁸ Storm, *Eng. Stud.*, 1880, III, 533.

⁹ Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁰ Ms. Phillipps, Cheltenham, the variants of which are given in the Hardy-Martin edition of Gaimar, I, 320-327.

¹¹ P. 98. "Mithin gehört der Lai d'Aveloc einer wesentlich älteren Zeit an, und wird wohl in die zweite Hälfte des 12. Jhs. zu setzen sein. Suchier erklärt den Lais d'Aveloc für einen der ältesten Lais."

relationship of the two versions: either that the Lay came from Gaimar, or that both emanated from a common source.¹²

Before Kupferschmidt only one person, Petrie,¹³ had suggested a lost version as a source of the two French poems. Petrie observed that, although the two versions have the same story in substance and contain lines exactly alike, at times each has circumstances not found in the other which are necessary to the story. He speaks of the visit to the hermit as an episode not found in Gaimar's account, and as one which is needed to explain Argentille's dream. In the latter version, on the other hand, there is the description of Sygar's ring, and the record of a feast, both omitted by the author of the Lay. Kupferschmidt¹⁴ criticizes Petrie's arguments, saying that these episodes are by no means essential, and that all that one may conclude from them is that the author of the Lay had used Gaimar. Nothing Petrie said, Kupferschmidt decides, can be taken as proof that there was a romance which served as the source of the Lay and of Gaimar's version. To give such proof Petrie would have had to show that incidents found in each of the French works occurred also in a third work which was totally independent of them both. Then we should know that details found in one of the French poems and in such a work were drawn from the source of all three works, and that they were not the invention of one author. Until such proof is offered, he says, it is idle to speak of a common source.

Having dismissed Petrie's arguments as worthless, Kupferschmidt goes on to say that although Petrie did not prove his assertion it is nevertheless possible to do so. An English version of the story is in existence which developed independently, and we may assume that details belonging to this version and one of the French poems were in the original source of all three.¹⁵

For his assertion that the English version developed independently, and was not influenced by the French versions, Kupferschmidt refers to Skeat, §20.¹⁶ Skeat, it will be remem-

¹² Kupferschmidt, p. 427.

¹³ Petrie, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, London, 1848, I, 765, note b, reprinted by Skeat, ed. 1868, p. xxvii.

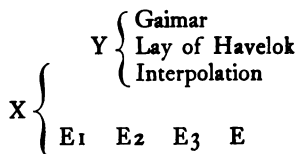
¹⁴ *Op. cit.* pp. 427-429.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* p. 429.

¹⁶ Skeat, ed. 1868, §20.



bered, made this statement in his edition of 1868. His comparison of the three works concerned is external and general. At that epoch also much less was known about the general dependence of English romances on French originals. Kupferschmidt's entire proof therefore rests on the authority of Skeat, who might possibly have modified his opinion in his later edition had it not been for Kupferschmidt's own conclusions which he (Skeat) accepted and quoted, together with the results of Putnam's study. According to Skeat, in his edition of 1902, the English Lay is derived from an original English source through several stages of development which he represents by E₁, E₂, E₃, E. This last form, E, the extant poem, cannot have been derived directly from X, the original source of all versions, since there must have been a version E₁ probably in the Lincolnshire dialect, and "if so, belonging rather to the earlier than to the later part of the thirteenth century." Then there must have been E₂, "almost certainly written in the South of England by a Norman scribe"; and E₃, "which may likewise have been a copy by a Norman scribe, but written in Lincolnshire and adding a few local interpolations to bring it up to date, perhaps as late as 1301. Of this E seems to have been an unintelligent copy, made not many years afterwards by a somewhat careless scribe who tried to copy what he had before him."¹⁷ Skeat's solution of the relationship of the versions is, therefore, the following:



But if E has passed from the original form through these stages, how can it be asserted that the various forms of the story have never been affected by influence from the French Lay or Gaimar? Skeat says nothing of influence from these versions; but to prove that the English Lay in the form in which we have it was entirely independent of the French versions, it is necessary that it should have had an independent origin and also that it should have remained free throughout its development.

Critics have varied in their opinions regarding the general resemblances of the versions. Skeat, as we have seen, consid-

¹⁷ Skeat, ed. 1902, *Introd.* p. xlviii.

ered the English Lay quite different from the French Lay, but Storm¹⁸ observed that the English Lay corresponds to the French Lay in general, although some details and names are different. Kittredge,¹⁹ who quoted Storm, disagreed with him, saying that the English Lay, which was three times as long as the French, was different and that it was really a "gest" and not a lay. Critics are not more unanimous as to this French influence. Some claim a definitely English origin for *Havelok*, and make no mention of French influence, whereas others believe that the source was English but acknowledge French influence. Another class of critics refers the poem to a French source. This French source is in its turn considered by some to be the French Lay, and by others to be the hypothetical lost version proposed by Kupferschmidt. Many, however, simply say that the source was French without attempting to determine it. Ten Brink,²⁰ Korting,²¹ Wohlfeil,²² Kupferschmidt,²³ Putnam,²⁴ Billings,²⁵ Heyman,²⁶ Brie,²⁷ Zenker,²⁸ and others consider the source English.

Heyman perhaps gives his reasons most definitely. "It has been a common presumption with scholars that there is no original English romance before Chaucer's time, and it is a fact that a very great number of the Middle English romances are translated from French versions (which are often based, in their turn, on Anglo-Saxon originals). In many cases this can be proved by the existence of French versions which were composed

¹⁸ Storm, *Eng. Stud.*, 1880, III, 533.

¹⁹ Kittredge, *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, 1886, VII, 184, n. 3.

²⁰ Ten Brink, *History of English Literature, to Wyclif*, translated by Kennedy, New York, 1889, pp. 150, 232.

²¹ Korting, *Grundriss der Geschichte der englischen Literatur*, 1910, p. 110, §88.

²² Wohlfeil, *The Lay of Havelok the Dane*, Leipsic, 1890, p. 11.

²³ Kupferschmidt, *op. cit.* p. 429.

²⁴ Putnam, *op. cit.* pp. 15-16.

²⁵ Billings, *A Guide to the Middle English Metrical Romances*, New York, 1901, pp. 21-22. Kupferschmidt's theory is given, and reference made also to Brandl and Wülker for suggested French influence.

²⁶ Heyman, *Studies on the Havelok-Tale*, Upsala, 1903, p. 147.

²⁷ Brie, *Eng. Stud.*, XXXV, 364. Brie proves that an English *Havelok* poem must have existed before the extant one, and adds: "Dies scheint mir auch einen schritt weiter zur feststellung eines englischen, nicht anglonormannischen originals der *Havelok*-dichtung zu bedeuten, für das ich mit Heyman (p. 148) gegenüber den meisten forschern eintreten möchte."

²⁸ Zenker, *Boeve Amlethus*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 64, 92.

previous to the preserved English ones, and by means of other evidence. But a similar presumption lacks proof with regard to Havelok, and there is no reason, but for the general want of early English originals, to assume that the original version was in French. Several reasons may, on the contrary, be adduced in favour of the thorough English or Anglo-Danish origin of the lay. First of all the tale itself is based on traditions which were current in England before the arrival of the Normans. It is hard to say why a poem should not have been actually written already towards the middle of the 11th century. The number of different facts stated in the English poem is so great that we are forced to assume that the majority were put in writing at a comparatively early period." Heyman then refers again to several passages which occur in the English romance of Havelok and which occur in only one of the three other versions (the Lay, the Interpolation, and Gaimar), and he claims that the corresponding passages prove the English version to be closer to the original tale. As additional evidence of the English origin of the poem, he cites the English, Scandinavian, and Welsh names of the characters. His conclusion is: "In short, as all this supports the probability that the English romance was not translated from a presumed French version, and owing to the fact that there is no convincing evidence to prove the contrary, it seems tolerably certain that the *Lay of Havelok the Dane* is an original, English romance."²⁹

Vising,³⁰ in his notice of Heyman, comments on this passage as follows: "Das bemerkenswerteste an diesem Resultat ist die Unabhängigkeit der englischen Romanze von der französischen Version. So hatte schon Kupferschmidt geurteilt, und ihm folgt Dr. Anna Hunt Billings. Indes sind die Gründe hierfür schwach und es fragt sich, ob nicht die für die entgegengesetzte Auffassung ins Feld geführten allgemeinen Betrachtungen, die Heyman zwar seinerseits entkräften will (S. 147), stärker sind. Man hat kaum ein sicheres Beispiel von einer romantischen Sage, die als alt- oder mittelenglisches Original vorhanden wäre. Auf der andern Seite stellen sich eine beträchtliche Zahl englischer Romanzen oder Romane als Bearbeitungen nach französischen (anglonormannischen) Vorlagen aus. Schofield wagt sogar fol-

²⁹ Heyman, *op. cit.* p. 148.

³⁰ *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der rom. Phil.*, 1902-1903, VII, 2, 90-91.

gende Behauptung: 'The stories of the English heroes Waldef (Walpeof), Havelok, Guy of Warwick, Beves of Hampton, Hereward, Fulk Fitz Warren, and others, were, it is well known, recorded in French. There is, indeed, as has already been said, no single instance where purely native transmission of an English romance is demonstrable.'"³¹

For *King Horn*, in the form in which it has come down to us, an English source had been claimed, but Morsbach³² and Schofield³³ have definitely shown that it is of French origin.

Ward expressed the view that the source was English but that French influence was also to be taken into account.³⁴ The English Lay, he thought, was based on a popular development of the legend, "though its author was apparently acquainted with the French Lay." Gollancz,³⁵ in speaking of the English sagas, said of Havelok: "This English romance is independent of the French version, though the author was evidently acquainted with the Anglo-Norman poem."

Besides Vising and Schofield,³⁶ who have already been quoted, Wülker,³⁷ Morsbach,³⁸ Brandl,³⁹ Holthausen,⁴⁰ Deutschbein,⁴¹

³¹ Schofield, *The Story of Horn and Rimenbild*, *The Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 1903, XVIII, 53.

³² Morsbach, *Die angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen "King Horn."* *Beiträge zur rom. und eng. Phil.* (Festschrift für Foerster), Halle, 1902, pp. 297-323.

³³ *Op. cit.* p. 53. "I have given over unwillingly the view I have long had on this point, but it seems to me now impossible to maintain it with good reasons, and cogent arguments are distinctly opposed."

³⁴ Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, 1883, I, 440.

³⁵ Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, London, 1898, p. xli.

³⁶ Schofield, *English Literature from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer*, New York, 1906, p. 268. Of the English Lay he says: "Its relation to the other accounts so far discussed is still obscure. . . . Evidently the English poem stands by itself; but it is not safe to assume that it, rather than the French poems, represents best the original narrative either in substance or in style. Like *Horn Child*, it is probably a late redaction of early French material, into which new names, new incidents, and new sentiments are introduced."

³⁷ Wülker, *Geschichte der eng. Lit.*, 1900, p. 98.

³⁸ Morsbach, *Die angebliche Originalität des frühmittelenglischen "King Horn."* p. 300.

³⁹ Brandl, *Grundriss der Germ. Phil.*, 1893, II, Abt. 1, §52. (See Billings.)

⁴⁰ Holthausen, ed. of *Havelok*, London, 1901, Introd., p. ix. "The English poem is probably a translation of a French one, which is however lost."

⁴¹ Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands*, Cöthen, 1906, p. 159. "Unser Ergebnis hat uns dahingeführt, dass der englische Spielmann kaum ältere

and Suchier⁴² believe that the source may have been French. Of these, Wülker, Morsbach, Schofield, and Holthausen merely mention a French original. Deutschbein hesitates between the French Lay and Kupferschmidt's hypothetical version. Suchier says: "Der englische Bänkelsänger . . . dürfte, unmittelbar oder mittelbar, auf dem französischen Dichter⁴³ fussen." Gollancz and Ward also have in mind the influence of the French Lay, and not that of an earlier poem.

It would seem, then, from these varying opinions that it is impossible to speak of the independence of the English Lay as if it were a definitely established fact, and that an examination of the versions of Gaimar, the French Lay, and the English Lay is absolutely necessary as the next step in an investigation of the source of any one of the three works. If passages clearly resembling Gaimar, and others indubitably resembling the French Lay, exist side by side in the poem, we may agree with Kupferschmidt's belief in the independence of the English Lay.

For the detailed study of the three versions I shall place the passages selected from the English Lay opposite the corresponding passages of the French poems. If the lines are found only in Gaimar they will be printed in black type; and if they occur in the Lay only, they will be indicated by an asterisk. *G*, *F*, and *E*, will be used to denote Gaimar's version, the French, and English Lays, respectively. Where the resemblance is especially close, the lines will be italicized. Occasionally lines from the French poems which present interesting differences from *E*, or which are only remotely connected with *E*, are given in parentheses.

(mündliche) Quellen für seinen Stoff benutzt hat; sondern wie seine übrigen Landsleute wird er wohl eine französische Vorlage gehabt haben. Diese Vorlage könnte nun unser afr. Lai gewesen sein, zu dem das Gedicht in mehreren Punkten weit besser als zu Gaimar passt. Wenn man aber Wert darauf legen will, dass in einem bemerkenswerten Punkte die englische Havelokversion mit der cymrischen Meriaducsage übereinstimmt, so muss man unser englisches Gedicht (direkt oder durch mehrere Zwischenglieder) auf jenes verlorengegangene franz. Gedicht (bez. dessen Vorlage) zurückführen, das schon Gaimar und dem Verfasser des Lais als Quelle gedient hat.

⁴² Suchier und Birch-Hirschfeld, *Geschichte der franz. Lit.*, 2d ed., 1913, p. 124.

⁴³ The "Dichter" just mentioned was the author of the French Lay.

ENGLISH LAY

The English Lay begins with England and Athelwold.

- 110 *Of bis bodi ne bauede be eyr*
 111 *Bute a mayden swiþe fayr,*
 112 *Þat was so yung þat sho ne couþe*
 113 *Gon on fote, ne speke with mouþe.*
 114 *Þan him tok an iuel strong,*
 115 *Þat he wel wiste, and under-fond,*
 116 *Þat bis deth was comen him on:*⁴⁴
 (The king complains of leaving Argentille, sends for his earls, and, on their arrival, asks them to choose her guardian. They elect Godrich of Cornwayle. The king, with "messebok, caliz,⁴⁵ pateyn, corporaus, messe-gere" makes Godrich swear to keep his oath.)
 189 *Þer-on be garte þe erl suere,*
 190 *Þat he sholde yemen bire wel,*
 191 *With-uten lac, with-uten tel,*
 192 *Till þat she were tuelf winter old,*
 193 *And of speche were bold;*
 194 *And þat she coupe of curteysye*
 195 *[Don,] and speken of luue-drurye;*
 196 *And til þat she louen moubte*
 197 *Hwom so hire to gode thouhte;*
 198 *And þat he shulde hire yeue*
 199 *Þe [bexte] man þat mibte liue,*
 200 *Þe beste, fayreste, the strangest ok:*
 201 *Þat dede he him sweren on þe bok.*
 202 *And þanne shulde he Engeland*
 203 *Al bitechen in-to bire hond.*
 (Athelwold)
 230 *To Iesu Crist bigan to calle,*
 231 *And deyede biforn his heyemen alle.*
 249 *Þe riche erl ne foryat nouht,*

FRENCH LAY—GAIMAR

Gaimar's account begins with England and Argentille.

Adelbriht and Orewein

- 208 **Mes entre eus neurent enfant*
 209 **Mes qe vne fille bele;*
 210 *(Argentille out non la pucele).*
 211 **Rois Ekenbriht fut enfermez,*
 212 **Et de grant mal forment greuez.*
 213 **Bien siet nen poet garrir;*
 214 **Alsi fet a lui venir,*
 215 **Sa fille li ad comandee*
 216 **Et sa terre tote liuee.*
 217 **Primerement li fet iurer,*
 218 **Veiant sa gent, et affer,*
 219 **Qe leaument la nurrireit,*
 220 **Et sa terre lui gardereit,*
 221 **Tant qe le fust de tiel age*
 222 **Que souffrir porroit mariage;*
 223 **Quant la pucele seit granz,*
 225 **Au plus fort bome la dorroit*
 226 **Qe el reaume troueroit;*
 227 **Qu'il li baillast ses citez,*
 228 **Ses chasteus et ses fermetez,*
 231 **Mes la reyne enmaladit;*
 232 *Puis qe Ekenbriht finit.*

⁴⁴In *G* the king dies without any premonitions (79): Mes donc avint ke Adelbriht fu mort. In *E* Athelwold is anxious about Goldborough, and this anxiety is implied in *F* by the fact that Ekenbriht sends for Alsi and intrusts Argentille to his keeping.

⁴⁵Nothing of this passage is found in *G*. The queen takes Argentille to Edelsi after Adelbriht's death.

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 250 þat he ne dede al Engeland ⁴⁶
 251 Sone sayse intil his hond ;
 280 þe kinges doubter gan [to] priue
 281 And wex þe fayrest wuman on liue.
 (Godrich shuts her up in a
 322 tower and) "þerinne dede hire fede
 323 Poureluke in feble wede." ⁴⁷
 328 Of Goldboru shul we nou laten,
 (Birkabeyn had three children,
 "Deth him tok þan he best
 wolde liuen," : ⁴⁸

Here Athelwold's feeling and actions are repeated by Birkabeyn, who sends for priests to shrive him and knights to select a guardian for the children. Godard is chosen and swears on the "messebok" to care for them and to rule Denmark until the son should become a knight when he should give him the country.)

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 237 *Rois Alsi, qui donc regna
 238 *Et les ii, regnes gouerna,
 284 *La meschine, quert sa fille,
 285 *Que ia estoit creue et grant.

235 DE EUS estoet ore ci lesser.

- 53 *Gunter auoit vn soen chastel
 54 *Sus la marine, fort et bel ;
 56 *Dedenz mist sa femme et son fiz ;
 57 *A vn baron de la contree
 58 *En ad la garde comandee.
 61 *Sur totés riens li comanda

⁴⁶ G has no transition from the death of Ekenbright and the queen to the marriage. E Argentille fu norie A Nicole, e en Lindeseie. Si com dit lantive gent, Ele nout nue cheval parent De par sun pere des Daneis. Then follows immediately : Oiez ke fit cel felons reis. (91-98.)

⁴⁷ This episode of the cruel treatment of Goldborough belongs only to the English Lay. It corresponds to the treatment accorded Havelok, and one is a duplication of the other, as Wittenbrinck first suggested in his study *Zur Kritik und Rhythmik des altenglischen Lais von Havelok dem Dänen*, Burgsteinfurt, 1891, p. 5 : "Die Fabel seiner Geschichte ist dürftig. Zwei grosse Züge gehen anfangs parallel und werden dann zusammengeführt." The English version, too, shows an entire modification of the early Danish events in order to carry out an extended duplication of the English part of the story. Thus in both England and Denmark the king knows he is going to die, he summons his barons, and entrusts his kingdom and infant heir to an earl who takes an oath and afterwards usurps the kingdom.

⁴⁸ In F and G Havelok's father is killed in combat with Arthur. E has duplicated Athelwold's illness and death. In G no provision for Havelok was made by Gunter, but in F, before the battle, Havelok and the queen were entrusted to Grim's care. Although the circumstances are different, E and F agree in the provision made by Havelok's father for him. In G the queen flees with him after Gunter's death.

(ENGLISH LAY)

(Godard imprisons the children in a tower, starves them and kills the sisters, but spares Havelok. He repents of his clemency later and gives Havelok to Grim to drown. The light emanating from the sack into which Havelok is thrown shows Grim's wife that the boy is no common child.

The light⁵⁰ is described as in both French versions. But there is the additional "kyne merk" on his right shoulder. Grim saves Havelok but claims reward from Godard for killing him. Godard refuses it and threatens Grim, who sees he must flee or "Heye hangen on galwe-tre."⁵¹ Grim sells his grain and animals.)

706 *Hise ship be greypede wel inow,*
 707 *He dede it tere, and ful wel pike,*
 708 *pat it ne doutede sond ne krike ;*
 709 *per-inne [he] dide a ful god mast,*
 710 *Stronge kables, and ful fast,*
 711 *Ores gode, and ful god seyl ;*
 712 *per-inne wantede nouht a nayl,*
 713 *pat euere he sholde per-inne do ;*
 714 *Hwan be hauedet greyped so,*
 715 *Hauelok þe yunge be dede per-inne,⁵²*
 716 *Him and his wif, bise sones þrinne,*
 717 *And bise two doubtres, pat faire*
wore ;

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

62 *Son fiz, quil forment ama ;
 63 *Qe si de lui mesauenoit,
 64 *En bataille sil morroit,
 65 *Qa son poeir le garantist
 66 *Et fors del pais le meist.⁴⁹

89 *Grim fet niefz apparailer,
 90 *Et de viande bien charger,

97 *Quant sa nief fut apparaillee,
 98 *Dedenz fist entrer sa meisnee,
 99 *Ses cheualers et ses serganx,
 100 *Sa femme demeine et ses enfanz ;

⁴⁹ Notice that in *F* Havelok and the queen are put in a strong castle for protection ; in *E* the enemy places Havelok and his sisters in a strong castle-tower to torment them. In *G* no strong tower is mentioned.

⁵⁰ *G* does not mention the light until the night of the marriage. *F* contains a description of the light in the part of the story just preceding the embarkation.

⁵¹ In *F* Grim takes the initiative and embarks with Havelok and the queen, though not for considerations of his own danger. In *G* the queen flees to Grim with Havelok and they embark.

⁵² *F* and *E* both describe the embarkation, though they differ as to the order in which the family entered the boat.

(ENGLISH LAY)

723-5 (The 'bise' drove them to England.)⁵³

733 In Humber Grim bigan to lende,

734 In Lindeseye, *riht at þe north ende.*

735 Þer sat his ship up-on þe sond,

736 But Grim it drou up to þe lond;

737 And þere he made a litel cote

738 To him [and his], and to hise flote.

739 Bigan he þere for to erde,

740 *A litel bus to maken of erpe,*⁵⁴

741 So þat he [and his] wel wore

742 *Of here herboru herborwed þere;*

743 And for þat Grim þat place auhte,

744 *Þe stede of Grim þe name laubte;*

745 *So þat Grimesbi [it] calle*

746 [He] þat þer-of spoken alle;⁵⁵

749 Grim was fishere swiþe god,

750 And mikel coupe on the fiod;

751 Mani god fish þer-inne he tok,

752 Boþe with net, and [ek] with hok.

753 He tok þe sturgiun, and þe qual,

754 And þe turbut, and lax with-al,

755 He tok þe sele, and [ek] þe el;

756 He spedde ofte swiþe wel:

757 Keling he tok, and tumberel,

758 Hering, and þe makerel,

759 Þe butte, þe schulle, þe þornbake:

760 Gode paniers dede he make,

761 On til him, and oþer þrinne

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

101 *La reyne mist el batel,

102 *Haueloc tint souz son mantel;

103 *Il meismes apres entra,

108 *Mes ne sieuent queu part aler

122 *Tant ont nage et tant sigle

123 *Qen vne hauene sont paruenu,

124 Et de la nief a terre issu.

125 *Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi.

793 Li prodoms mansion ileua,

129 *Il i adresca primes maison*

794 *Tut primerement si herberga;

134 *Iloec dedenz sest berberge.

139 Plusurs a li sacompaignerent,

140 *Sus le hauene se herbergerent;

141 *Pur son non, qil eurent oi,

142 *Le liu appellerent Grimesbi.

442 Per un batel ben guarisimes,

443 Dunt nostre pere ala pescher.

135 *Pescher aloit si com il soloit,

795 *Assez nus troua a manger;

796 Par vendre siel et par pescher,

444 Peison eumes a manger;

445 Turbuz, salmuns e mulvels,

446 Graspeis, porpeis e makerels

⁵³ *F* and *E* represent Grim as sailing at random and driven on the shore of England. In *G* Grim directs his course to England: (581) *En Lindeseie volt aler.* *E* omits the attack of the pirates.

⁵⁴ The house was made by Grim from his boat in both *F* and *G*.

⁵⁵ This information about Grimsby is not given in *G*. The passage in *E* strikingly corresponds to that of *F*. The names of fishes are the same in *G* and *E*, and it is noteworthy that fishes are enumerated in both versions.

(ENGLISH LAY)

762 Til hise sones, to beren fish inne,
 763 Vp o-londe to selle and fonge;
 764 Forbar he neyþer tun, ne gronge,
 765 þat he ne to-yede with his ware;
 766 Kam he neuere hom hand-bare,
 767 þat he ne brouhte bred and sowel
 768 In his shirte, or in his couel;
 771 And hwan hetok þe gretelaumprei,
 772 Ful wel he coupe þe rihte wei
 773 To Lincolne, þe gode boru;
 (Havelok tries to earn his living
 when twelve. His labor is de-
 scribed. A famine follows and
 Grim talks to Havelok, advising
 him to go to Lincoln to find
 work.⁵⁶ He says: ⁵⁷

839 'Hauelok, dere sone,
 840 I wene that we deye mone
 841 For hunger, þis dere is so strong,
 843 Betere is þat þu henne gonge
 844 þan þu here dwelle longe;
 850 Betere is þat þu pider go,
 851 For þer is mani god man inne,
 852 þer þou maght þi mete winne.
 853 But wo is me! þou art so naked,
 854 Of mi seyl y wolde were maked
 855 A cloth, þou mihtest inne gongen,
 856 Sone, no cold þat þu ne fonge.'
 (And the making of the garment
 is described.)
 857 He tok þe sheres of þe nayl,
 858 And made him a couel of þe sayl,
 859 And Hauelok dide it sone on;
 (The king's cook, attracted by his
 strength and work, takes him to
 his kitchen to serve.)⁵⁸

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

448 Eumes pain, e bon peison.

449 Del peissun cangium le pain
 450 Hom nus aportout a plain.

(Havelok's growth and strength
 are described. Grim rejoices in
 him, but laments his position and
 surroundings. Grim then talks to
 the boy and advises him to go to
 Lincoln to the court to "apprendre
 sens et avoir querre.")

166 *"Beau fiz," fet il, "entend a moi
 167 *"Ici manon mult soutiement,
 168 *"Od pescheours, od poure gent,
 171 *"Ici ne poez sauer nul bien,
 172 *"Tu ni gaigneras ia rien,
 173 *"Va ten, beau fiz, en Engleterre
 174 *"Apprendre sens et auoir querre;
 183 *"Et Dieu te dount se espleiter
 184 *"Qe auques i puissez gaigner."

185 *Quant li prodoms lout enseigne,
 186 *Et de draps appaillie,
 187 *De lui le fist partir a peine.
 241 *Cil Hauelok a sa curt vint,
 242 *Et vn keu le roi le retint,
 243 Purceo qe fort le vist et grant

⁵⁶ The resemblance between *E* and *F* is very noticeable here. Havelok leaves Grimsby at about the same time in both; Grim tells him to go, giving a reason for so doing and instructions. In each case Grim provides him with clothes. The chief difference is one of tone, appropriate to the circumstances and details of each poem. The suggestion of Havelok's earning or acquiring something is found in *F* as well as in *E*. The famine in *E* is surprising. Why should it have affected the fishes?

⁵⁷ Grim's speeches in *G* and in *F* are similar, although different in tone.

⁵⁸ This more elaborate scene corresponds in several points to that of *F*. In *G* it is merely stated that Havelok was esqueler a une quistron (153-154).

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 876 Þe bermen let he alle ligge,
 877 And bar þe mete to þe castel,
 878 And gat him pere a ferþing wastel.
 (He pushes aside the 16 porters
 of the cook and catches up the
 fish.)
 895 He *bar up wel a carte-lode*
 896 Of segges, laxes, of playces brode,
 (Havelok tells what he can do.)
 912 Fir and *water y wile yow fete*,
 913 Þe fir blowe, and ful wele maken;
 914 *Stickes kan ich breken and kraken*,
 919 *Ful wel kan ich dishes swilen*,
 (His duties are described.)
 932 He kam to þe welle, *water up-drow*,
 933 And filde þer a michel so;
 935 Bi-twen his hondes he bar it in,
 936 Al him one, to þe kichin.
 945 Of alle men was he mest meke,
 946 *Laubwinde ay, and bliþe of speke*;
 947 *Euere be was glad and bliþe*,
 949 It ne was non so litel knaue,
 951 Þat he ne wolde with him pleye;
 952 Þe children that yeden in þe weie
 953 Of him he deden al her wille,⁵⁹
 954 And with him leykeden here fille.
 955 Him loueden alle, stille and bolde,
 956 Knihtes, children, yunge and olde;
 957 Alle him loueden þat him sowen,
 958 Bopen heyne men and lowe.
 959 Of him þe word ful wide sprong,
 960 Hu he was mikel, hu he was
 strong,⁶⁰
 961 Hu fayr man God him hauede
 maked,

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 244^a Et mult le vist de bon semblant
 245 Merueillous fes poeit leuer,
 246 **Busche tailler*
 247 **Les esquieles receuoit*,
 248 **Et apres manger les lauoit*;
 246 **ewe porter*
 277 XII. homes ne poeient leuer
 278 Le fes que il poeit porter.
 253 **Tant estoit franc et deboneire*,
 254 **Que tuz voloit lur pleisir fere*.
 139 Pur co estait si ben amez,
 140 E si preisez, e si loez,
 141 Naveit frans hom en la meison,
 142 Si Cuheran en voleit don,
 143 Kil ne lui donast volunters;
 243 Purceo qe fort le vist et grant,
 244 Et mult le vist de bon semblant.

⁵⁹ 952 corresponds to 253 of *F*, but with a change in subject. Havelok did everyone's pleasure in *F*. In both *G* and *F* he gave abundantly to the "valets," and *G* adds that he was much loved for this, and that there was no one who would not give to him. In *F* they make fun of him. In *E*, however, the description of the attitude recalls the general phrases used for Athelwold (30):

Him lovede yung, him loveden olde,
 Erl and barun, dreng and thayn,
 Kniht, and bondeman, and swain, etc.

⁶⁰ *E*, *F*, and *G* correspond in giving Havelok's characteristics.

(ENGLISH LAY)

962 But-on þat he was almeſt naked :
 979 *For þanne he weren alle ſamen*
 980 *At Lincolne, at þe gamen,*⁶¹
 981 And þe erles men wornen alle þore,
 982 Was Hauelok bi þe ſhuldren more
 983 Þan þe meſte þat þer kam :
 984 *In armes him noman [ne] nam*
 985 *Þat he doune ſone ne caſte ;*
 986 Hauelok ſtod ouer hem als a maſt.
 989 In Engelond [was] non hiſe þer
 990 *Of ſtrengþe þat euere kam him ner,*
 991 *Als he was ſtrong, ſo was he ſofte ;*
 992 Þey a man him miſdede ofte,
 993 Neuere more he him [miſſeyde],
 994 Ne hond on him with yuele leyde.

1001 *And he (Godrich) gart komen*
into þe tun

1002 *Mani erl, and mani barun ;*

1003 *And alle [men] þat liues were*

1004 In Engelond, þanne were þere,
 1005 Þat þey haueden after ſent
 1006 To ben þer at þe parlement.
 (A deſcription of games follows
 in which Havelok excels all.)

1065 Þorhut England yede þe ſpeke,
 1066 Hu he was ſtrong, and ek [ful]
 meke ;

1067 In the caſtel, up in þe halle,
 1068 Þe knihtes ſpeken þer-of alle,
 1069 So that Godrich it herde wel
 1070 Þer ſpeken of Hauelok, eueri del,
 1071 *Hu he was ſtrong man and hey,*
 1072 *Hu he was ſtrong, and ek [ful*
sley]

1073 And þouhte Godrich, ‘þoru piſ
 knaue

1074 Shall ich Engelond al haue,

1075 And mi ſone after me ;⁶²

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

239 **Bone curt tint et grant gent ;*

240 **A Nicole manoit ſouent,*

262 *Li cheualer et li ſergant,*

264 *Desquil ſeurent ſa grant vertu,*

265 *Deuant eus liuter le feſoient*

266 *As plus forz homes qil ſauoient,*

267 *Et il treſtouz les abatit ;*

268 *Et ſi nuls de eus le meſdeisist,*

269 *Par dreite force le lioit ;*

270 *Tant le tenoit et iuſtiſoit*

271 *Quil li auoit tut pardone,*

272 *Et quil reſtoient acorde.*

279 *En la curt fut lungement,*

280 **Dici qun aſſemblement,*

281 **Que li baron a la curt vindrent*

282 **Qui de Ekenbriht lur terre tin-*
drent ;

273 **Li rois forment ſeſmerueilloit*

274 **De la force qen lui veoit.*

275 **Dis des plus forz de ſa meſon*

276 **Neurent vers li nule fuiſon ;*

⁶¹ In *G* no ſpecial gathering at this time at Nicole is mentioned ; in *F* we read of a king's court at Nicole, and the late English author introduces a parliament there.

⁶² In all this account *E* is much closer to *F* than to *G*. The latter ſtates that the king made Havelok his juggler, and then married him to his niece to ſhame her. *F* ſhows how Havelok wreſtled before the knights, and how the king him-

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 1076 For so i wile pat it be.
 1077 King *Apelwald* me dide swere
 1078 Vpon al þe messe-gere,
 1079 Pat y schulde bis doubter yeue
 1080 Þe bexte [man] pat mihte liue,
 1081 Þe beste, þe fairest, þe strangest
 ok;
 1082 Pat gart he me sweren on þe bok.
 1083 Hwere mihte i finden ani so bey
 1084 So *Hauelok* is, or so sley?
 1085 Pouh y soubte beþen in-to Ynde,
 1086 So fayr, so strong, ne mihte y finde.
 1087 *Hauelok* is pat ilke knaue
 1088 Pat shal Goldeborw haue.'⁶³

- 1089 Dis pouhte [he] with trechery,
 1090 With traysoun, and with felony;
 1091 For he wende, pat *Hauelok* wore
 1092 Sum cherles sone, and no more;
 1097 He wende, pat *Hauelok* wer a
 pral.⁶⁴

(Goldborough is brought to Lincoln, and the conversations between the king and her, and between the king and Havelok, are reported. Both refuse to marry and are forced to do so by the king with threats. The wedding is also described.)⁶⁵

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 354 *"*Quant Ekenbright le roi fini,*
 355 *"*En ma garde sa fille mist,*
 356 *"*Vn serement iurer me fist*
 357 *"*Qau plus fort bome la dorroie*
 358 *"*Qe el reaume trouer porroie.*

 359 *"*Assez ai quis et demande,*
 360 *"*Tant gen ai vn fort troue.*
 361 *"*Vn valet ai en ma quisine*
 362 *"*A qui ieo dorrai la meschine.*
 363 *"*Cuaran ad cil a non.*
 364 *"*Li dis plus fort de ma maison*
 365 *"*Ne se poent a lui tenir,*
 366 *"*Son giu ne sa liute suffrir.*
 367 *"*Veritez est, desqa Rome*
 368 *"*De corsage nad si grant home.*
 369 *"*Li garder voil mon serement,*
 370 *"*Ne la pus doner autrement."*

 161 *Purhoc* sil estait en tel despit,
 162 *Venuz* esteit de gentil lit:
 163 E si li reis saporceust,
 164 Ne quid ke ja sa nece eust.

377 Sa niece lur fet amener,

self marvelled at his strength. After the assembly at court where the barons demanded the keeping of the oath, the king thought of Havelok and arranged the marriage. In *E* the king noticed Havelok in the games at the time of the parliament held at Lincoln; he bethought himself of his oath and decided that Havelok should marry Argenteille.

⁶³ Lines 1079–1182 repeat 198–201 of the first part of *E*.

⁶⁴ This observation of the author of *E* is not unlike that in *G*. However, the reflection is a natural one to make on such a situation, and it might perhaps have occurred to the author of *F*, had he not given nearly all this scene as conversation between the barons and the king.

⁶⁵ In *F* and *G* neither these interviews nor the wedding are described.

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 1175 He weren spused fayre and wel.
 (Havelok leaves with his bride
 for Grimsby⁶⁶ because he fears
 the king and that :)
 1191 Men sholde don his leman shame,
 1192 Or elles bringen in wicke blame ;
 (They hasten on) :
 1202 "*Til be komen to Grimesby.*
 1203 *Panne be komen pere, panne was*
Grim ded,
 1204 Of him ne haueden he no red ;
 1205 But hise children alle fyue
 1206 Alle weren yet on liue ;⁶⁷
 1247 On þe niht, als Goldborw lay,
 1248 Sory and sorwful was she ay,
 1249 For she wende she were bi-swike,
 1250 Þat she were yeuen un-kynde-
 like.⁶⁸
 1251 *O niht saw she þer-inne a liht,*
 1252 *A swipe fayr, a swipe bryht,*
 1253 *Al so briht, al so shir*
 1254 *So it were a blase of fir.*
 1255 She lokede norþ, and ek south,
 1256 *And saw it comen ut of his mouth,*
 1257 Þat lay bi hire in þe bed :
 1258 *No ferlike þoub she were adred!*⁶⁹

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 378 Et a Cuaran esposer ;
 379 Pur lui auiler et honir
 380 La fist la nuit lez lui gisir.
 556 *A Grimesby sen alerent.*
 557 **Mes li prodoms estoit finiz*
 558 E la dame qis out nurriz.
 559 Kelloc sa fille iont trouee ;
 560 Vn marchant lout esposee.
 187 La nece al rei se compleigneit ;
 188 Sovent son uncle maldisseit,
 189 Ki si laveit desherite,
 190 E a un tel hom donee ;
 435 *Mult out del sunge grant pour ;*
 436 *Puis out greindre de son seigneur*
 437 *Pur la flambe gele choisit*
 438 *De de la bouche li issit.*

⁶⁶ In *F* and *G* the story of the vision and the flame precedes the departure for Grimsby, and leads to it. In *E* the two leave for Grimsby because they fear the king. The vision and the light are mentioned later.

⁶⁷ At Grimsby they are well received, but there is no suggestion of Havelok's story or of a return to Denmark as yet. That night, however, there comes the supernatural revelation to Goldborough. In *F* and *E* note that Grim is now dead. In *G* he had died before Havelok left home.

⁶⁸ Goldborough's sorrowful attitude is commented on in both *E* and *G*. Her feeling, however, is more bitter in *G*, and her complaint is directed against her uncle who is not mentioned in *E*. The resemblance is not close. *F* does not make any such observation and represents Argentille as reconciled to Havelok almost immediately. There is a difference of tone in the three poems which makes it possible for *E* and *G* to record an observation which, in *F*, would be out of keeping with the ideal of Argentille, who should not despise Havelok whether he is known or unknown to her.

⁶⁹ The flame is partly explained in *E* by the cross (the "kynemerk") and by the angel's voice. The vision is seen by Havelok and not by Argentille, as in *G* and *F*. The vision is a different one and is explained by Goldborough. It serves no purpose. In *G* and *F* the vision comes first. Argentille awakens in fright, then sees the flame and arouses Havelok, who gives an unsatisfactory ex-

(ENGLISH LAY)

(After the light she perceives the "kynmerk" on his shoulder, and hears the angel's voice tell her that Havelok will be king of Denmark and England.)

- 1266 *For Hauelok, þat baueþ spuset þe,*
 1267 *[Is] kinges sone and kinges eyr;*
 1269 *It bikenneth, þat he shal*
 1270 *Denemark bauen, and Englondal;*

(Havelok dreams and Goldborough interprets the dream, advising Havelok to take Grim's sons to Denmark with him. Havelok tells his tale to Kelloc and the others.)⁷⁰

- 1440 "I preie you þat ye wende with
 me,
 1441 *And icb may mak you ricbe men;*
 1442 *Ilk of you shal haue castles ten,*
 1443 *And þe lond þat þor-til longes,*
 1444 *Borwes, tunes, wodes and*
*wonges."*⁷¹
 (Ubbe beholds Havelok.)
 1645 *Hauelok bi-beld he swiþe wel,*
 1646 *Hu he was wel of bones maked,*
 1647 *Brod in þe sholdres, ful wel*
schaped,
 1648 *Picke in þe brest, of bodi long;*
 1649 *He semede wel to ben wel strong.*
 1659 *'Hauelok, baue [þou] þi bone,*
 1660 *And y ful wel rede þe*
 1661 *þat þou come, and ete with me*

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 519 *"'Bele," fet il, "ceo qe sunge as
 520 *"'De ton baron, tu le verras.
 521 *"'Il est ne de real lignage,
 522 *"'Oncore auera grant heritage,
 523 *"'Grant gent fra vers li encline,
 524 *"'Il serra roi et tu reyne.
 525 *"'Demande li qi fut son pierre,
 526 *"'Et sil ad sorour ne frere;
 527 *"'Puis si meint en lur contree;
 528 *"'Iloec orras la destinee
 529 *"'Dont ert nez et dont il est.

- 639 *Argentille, quant ele loit,*
 641 *A eus promet foi et amur;*
 643 *Grant bien lur fera, ceo dit.*

- 739 *Li senescaus ala auant;*
 740 *Vist Hauelok et creu et grant,*
 743 *Gent cors et bele feture,*
 744 *Lungs braz et grant furchure.*

- 745 *Ententiuement lesgarda,*
 655 *"'Hauelok" fet il, "beaus amis,
 657 *"'En son cbastel va berberger,
 658 "Et a sa table va manger,

planation. The vision, as explained by the hermit in *F*, gives the reason for going to Grimsby. In *E* the idea of flame, vision, and departure is kept, but the order, circumstances, and relationship of the three are changed, and other matter is introduced.

⁷⁰ In *G* and *F* it is Kelloc who tells Havelok to go to Denmark and take her brothers.

⁷¹ A leaf containing 180 lines is lost, and in the next passage Havelok goes to Ubbe's house with a ring. This is not found in *G* or *F*.

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 1662 *To-day, pou, and pi fayre wif,*
 1663 *pat pou louest also pi lif.*
 1664 *And haue pou of hire no drede,*
 1665 *shal hire no man shame bede.*
 1666 *Bi pe fey y owe to pe,*
 1667 *perof shal i [miself] borw be.'*
 (*Havelok, though afraid of consequences, brings Goldborough. Ubbe loves him.*)
 1714 *Hwan it was comen time to ete,*
 1715 *Hise wife dede Ubbe sone in fete,*
 1716 *And til hire seyde, al on gamen :*
 1717 *'Dame, pou and Hauelok shulen ete samen,*
 1719 *pat is so fayr so flour on tre ;*
 1720 *In al Denemark is wimman [non]*
 1721 *So fayr so sche, bi seint Iohan !'*
 (*Then follows a description of the meal. Ubbe sends them to Bernard Brun for protection until the next day. Bernard provides a rich supper for them, and at that time sixty-one thieves come to attack them. A description of the fray follows. All sixty assailants are killed. Ubbe hears of it.*)
 1926 *Sket cam tiding in-til Ubbe,*
 1927 *pat Hauelok hauede with a clubbe*
 1928 *Of hise slawen sixti and on*
 1929 *Sergaunz, pe beste pat mihten gon.*
 1930 *'Deus!' quoth Ubbe, 'hwat may pis be*
 1931 *Betere is i nime miself and se*
 1942 *He lep up on a stede libt,*
 1943 *And with him mani a noble knibt,*
 1944 *And ferde forth un-to pe tun,*
 1945 *And dide calle Bernard Brun.*
 (*He asks Bernard for an explanation. Bernard tells of Havelok's valor and wounds. Then Ubbe takes Havelok home and places him with Goldborough in a tower near his own room.*)

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 660 **'Ta femme meine ensemble od toi*
 661 **'Assez tost te demanderont,*
 662 **'Par la beaute qen lui verront,*
 663 **'Qui tu es, et de quiele contree.⁷²*
 677 **Quant fut boure del manger,*
 678 **Et qe tuz alerent lauer,*
 679 *Li prodoms a manger sassist,*
 680 **Les iii. valez secir i fist.*
 731 **Li senescaus cheual demande,*
 732 **A touz ses cheualers comande*
 733 **Qe od li argent a la meslee.*
 824 *Et el chastel lad amene,*
 825 *Sa femme et ses compaignons.*
 827 *Mult les fist bien seruir,*

⁷² These lines are from the directions given Havelok by the merchant.

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 2090 *þe firste niht þe lay þer-inne,*⁷³
 2091 *Hise wif, and [ek] his serganz
 þrinne,*
 2092 *Aboute þe middel of þe niht*
 2093 *Wok Ubbe, and saw a mikel liht*
 2094 *In þe bour [þer] Hauelok lay,*
 2095 *Also briht so it were day.*
 2096 *'Deus!' quoth Ubbe, 'hwat may
 þis be?'*
 2097 *Betere is i go miself, and see:*
(The light is not understood until
the "kunrik" denoting his king-
ship is seen.)
 2149 *So þat he knewen, at þe laste,*
 2150 *þat he was Birkabeynes sone,*
 2151 *þat was here king, þat was hem
 wone*
 2152 *Wel to yemen, and wel were*
 2153 *Ageynes uten-laddes here.*
(Ubbe tells Havelok he shall be
king.)
 2190 *On þe morwen, hwan it was liht,*
 2192 *Vbbe dide up-on a stede*
 2193 *A ladde lepe, and pider bede*
 2194 *Erles, barouns, drenge, theynes,*
 2195 *Klerkes, knibtes, burgeys,
 sweynes,*
 2196 *þat þe sholden comen a-non*
 2197 *Biforen bim sone euerilkon*
(Ubbe summons all and they
come as he bids. He tells the
Danish part of Havelok's story
and shows the heir of Denmark
*to them.)*⁷⁴
 2240 *Lokes, bware þe stondes ber:*
 2241 *In al þis werd ne haues he per;*
 2242 *[Is] non so fayr, ne non so long,*
 2243 *Ne non so mikel, ne non so strong,*

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 828 *La nuit en sa chambre gisir.*
 837 *Meisme lure quil dormit*
 838 *De sa bouche le feu issit.*
 639 *E li prodom levat del lit;*
 640 *Quant il i vint la flambe vit.*
 841 *Et il en ad Dieu mercie,*
 842 *Qe le dreit heir ad recouere.*
 843 **Ses chapeleins fet demander;*
 844 **Ses briefs escriure et enseeler,*
 845 *Par ses messages les manda,*
 846 *Et pur ses amis enuoia,*
 847 *Pur ses homes, pur ses parenz.*
 848 *Multi i assembla granz genz,*
 910 **A tuz ensemble le mustra;*
 911 *"Seignurs, purceo vus ai mandez,*
 912 *"Qe Dieu nus ad reusitez.*

⁷³ Since Ubbe has not asked Havelok who he is, the light and the cross serve to reveal Havelok's identity to him and do not merely confirm an opinion already conceived, as in *G* and *F*. *E* is nearer to *G* in that Ubbe goes to see for himself what the light is. In *G* Sygar has Havelok watched by servants but goes to verify their report himself; in *F* the chamberlain brings the report to Sygar but the latter rejoices without going to see for himself.

⁷⁴ Havelok tells his story to Sygar in the French poems. The bath, robes, hatchet, and horn episodes are lacking in *E*.

(ENGLISH LAY)

- 2246 *Bes of him ful glad and blipe,*
 2247 *And cometh alle hider swiþe,*
 2248 *Manrede youre louerd forto*
 make,
 2250 *I shal mi-self do first þe gamen,*
 2251 *And ye siþen alle samen.'*
 2252 *O knes ful fayre be him sette,*
 2253 *Mouhte noping him per-fro lette,*
 2254 *And bi-cam bis man riht þare,*
 2255 *Þat alle sawen þat pere ware.*
 2256 *After him stirt up laddes ten,*
 2257 *And bi-comen bise men ;*
 2258 *And siþen euerilk a baroun*
 2259 *Þat euere weren in al that toun ;*
 2260 *And siþen drenges, and siþen*
 ibaynes,
 2262 *So þat, or þat day was gon,*
 2263 *In all þe tun ne was nouht on*
 2264 *Þat [he] ne was his man bi-comen :*
 2265 *Manrede of alle hauede he*
 nomen.
 2268 *Grundlike dide he hem swere*
 2269 *Þat he him sholden god feyth bere*
 2270 *Ageynes alle þat worn on liue ;*
 2271 *Þer-yen ne wolde neuer on striue,*
 2272 *Þat be ne maden sone þat oth,*
 2273 *Riche and poure, lef and loth,⁷⁵*
 2312 *Hwan he hauede manrede and oth*
 2313 *Taken of lef and [ek] of loth,*
 2314 *Vbbe dubbede him to kniht⁷⁶*
 2315 *With a swerd ful swiþe briht ;*
 (Then follow rejoicing, games,
 gleemen, and a feast. Grim's
 sons are knighted also.)⁷⁷
 2354 *Hwan þat feste was al don,*
 2355 *A thusand knihtes wel o bon*
 2356 *With-held þe king, with him to*
 lede ;

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 913 "*Veez ci nostre dreit beir ;*
 914 *"*Bien en deuom grant ioie auer.*"

 915 *Tut primerain se desafubla,*
 916 *Pardeuant lui sagenuilla ;*
 917 *Sis boms deuint, si li iura*
 918 *Qe leaument le seruira*
 919 *Li autre sont apres ale,*
 921 *Tuit si bome sont deuenu.*
 922 *Puis quil li eurent receu,*
 923 *La nouele fut recontee :*
 925 *De totes parz i accurroient,*

 926 *Et riche et pouere, qui loeient,*
 927 *De lui firent lur auowe.*

 925 *De totes parz i accurroient,*
 926 *Et riche et pouere, qui loient,*
 927 *De lui firent lur auowe.*

 928 **A cheualer lont adubbe.*

(Gaimar mentions a feast after the battle, l. 757.)

⁷⁵ This whole passage (2240–2273) is much closer to *F* than to *G*. Gaimar has merely (727–734): *Tuz ses homes ad donc mande: Lores li firent felte. Il meismes sagenulla, De fai tenir laseura. Puis enveia pur les barons. A ki cel reis aveit tencons. Tuz sunt ses homes devenuz, E a seignur lunt receuz.* This passage in *E* is like that of *F*, which is, however, more detailed.

⁷⁶ This is an important point of resemblance between *E* and *F*, since *G* does not mention the knighting of Havelok.

⁷⁷ Neither *G* nor *F* mentions a feast in just this connection, though *G* mentions one after the battle (757).

(ENGLISH LAY)

2360 With hem [ek] fwe thusand gode
2361 Sergaunz, þat weren to fyhten
wode,

2370 Half hundred knihtes dede he
calle,

2371 And hise fif thusand sergaunz
alle,

(Robert, Havelok's foster brother, meets Godard and calls him traitor and "caynard." Godard takes a knife and smites him through the right arm. His men come to the rescue and are killed by Havelok's men. Godard is bound and taken to Havelok. The traitor is then duly sentenced, flayed, drawn and hanged.)⁷⁸

2512 Þanne he was ded, þat Sathanas,

2513 Sket was seysed al þat his was

2514 In þe kinges hand ilk del,

2515 Lond and lith, and oþer catel,

(Havelok leaves the land in Ubbe's keeping, and vows a monastery to Grim. Godrich in England hears that Havelok is ruler of Denmark and is coming with an army.)⁷⁹

2548 *He dide sone ferd ut [bede,]*

2549 *Þat al þat euer moubte o stede*

2550 *Ride, þor helm on heued bere,*

2551 *Brini on bac, and sheld and spere.*

(FRENCH LAY—GAIMAR)

929 Tant li aida le senescal,

931 *Qe merveillous ost assembla.*

737 des chevalers

738 Ourent il bien trente millers.

961 *Haueloc fut de grant vertu ;

962 *Le roi Hodulf ad si feru

963 *Dune hache qil apporta,

964 *Quil labatit, puis ne leua,

965 *Iloec loccist deuant sa gent,

971 *Après cest fet ad receu

972 *Le regne qa son pere fu

973 *Par la terre bone pees mist,

1023 *Dedenz le iour qil eurent pris,

1024 *Alsi manda ses amis

1025 *Et touz ceus quil pout auoir ;

⁷⁸ *F* and *G* differ in the story of the battle. Gaimar states that the enemies fought and that Hodulf was conquered. In *F* a hand to hand contest between Hodulf and Havelok is described. Hodulf was killed in the sight of his people. *E* is closer to *F* in this latter detail and also in the former, for, changed and popularized as is the whole account, there is still more reflection of the hand to hand contest in the struggle between Godard and Robert than of the regular battle of Gaimar's description. There is a general fight between Havelok's and Hodulf's men at the end of the contest, but this is no regular battle. The tone of the description is different and Robert challenges Hodulf by calling him names, whereas Havelok calls him to fight to spare the "menue gent."

⁷⁹ Notice that in *F* and *G* Havelok receives his father's kingdom. In *E* he receives all the personal possessions of Hodulf as well. It is on this occasion that the feast of *G* is mentioned (756), *De lui firent seigneur e reis. Grant feste tint, e grant baldoire.* In *G* as in *E* the expedition to England seems to follow immediately. In *F* the peace is described, and after four years Argentille commands Havelok to reconquer her kingdom.

(ENGLISH LAY)

(FRENCH LAY—GAIMAR)

2552 Or ani oþer wepne bere,
 2553 Hand-ax, syþe, gisarm, or spere,
 2554 Or aunlaz, and [ful] god long
 knif,

2555 Þat, als þe louede leme or lif,
 2556 Þey sholden comen [alle] þim to-
 2558 To Lincolne, þer þe lay,
 2559 Of Marz þe seuentenþe day.⁸⁰

(After the separate deeds of Roberd, Huwe, and Ubbe have been described, Havelok addresses Godrich and promises him forgiveness if he will yield up her rightful inheritance to Argentille. Godrich refuses. Havelok fights him, conquers and binds him, and sends him to the queen for custody until the knights shall pass judgment on him.)⁸¹

2766 Ðan þe Englishe men þat sawe,
 2767 Ðat þei wisten, heye and lawe,
 2768 Ðat Goldeboru, þat was so fayr,
 2769 Was of Engeland riht eyr,

2770 And þat þe king hire hauede
 wedded,

2771 And haueden [he] ben samen
 bedded,

2772 He comen alle, to crie merci,

2773 Vnto þe king, at one cri,

2774 And beden him sone manrede
 and oth,

2775 Ðat he ne sholden, for lef ne loth

2776 Neuere more ageyn him go.

1026 *Nul ni lessa remaneir.

1027 *A Tbeford les ostz assemblerent

1083 Tote sa terre li rendit

1084 Que Ekenbright tint tant come
 il vesquit.

965 deuant sa gent,

966 Qe touz li crient hautement,

967 "Sire, merci, qe ni moroms,

968 "Car volenters te seruiroms."

969 Cil se sont a lui tourne,

970 Et il lur ad tut pardone.⁸²

⁸⁰ In the French versions Godrich is challenged by Havelok. Although Gaimar indicates that Edelsi assembled a host (764-770), the longer description is given in the Lay. In this respect *E* is closer to *F*. In *G* no place or time is mentioned for the assembly; in *F* an indefinite time and a definite place, Theford; in *E* a definite time and place, Lincoln, the 17th of March.

⁸¹ This single combat is found neither in *G* nor in *F*. It may be, however, a reflection of Havelok's single combat with Hodulf. In both French stories Edelsi makes peace and is forgiven on yielding up the kingdom. Perhaps this is reflected in *E*, where Havelok offers to forgive Godrich if he will surrender the kingdom.

⁸² In *F* and *G* the mention of forgiveness is made in connection with the Danish subjects and not the English. The peaceful ending of the affairs in England in both versions, however, allows this forgiveness to be understood.

(ENGLISH LAY)

(The earls bring in Goldborough,
and the English fall on their knees
and confess their fault, saying :)

- 2800 For Englonde auhte forto ben
2801 Youres, and we youre men.
2802 Is non of us, [ne] yung ne old,
2803 Þat [he] ne wot, þat Apelwold
2804 Was king of [al] þis kunerike,
2805 And ye his cyr.
(Godrich is condemned and
burned.⁸³ Grim's daughters are
married to earls, and Bertram the
cook is rewarded. Then follows
the coronation feast of forty days
in London.)⁸⁴
2942 Þer-after sone, with his here,
2943 For þe to Lundone, forto bere
2944 Corune, so þat [alle] it sawe.
2948 Þe feste of þis coruning
2949 Lastede with gret ioying
2950 Fourti dawes, and sumdel mo.
(Havelok reigns sixty years. The
French versions end here with no
mention of Havelok's children.)

(FRENCH LAY — GAIMAR)

- 1093 Il nout nul heir si droiturel
1094 Come Haueloc et sa muiller.

1087 Mes Haueloc sa feste tint
1088 A la cite quant il vint;

1099 XX. anz regna, si en fut rois.⁸⁵

This comparison shows that the resemblances to Gaimar alone are as follows:

1. An enumeration of the fishes which Grim caught. (*E*, 751-759; *G*, 445-446.)
2. A comment on the king's ignorance of Havelok's real position. (*E*, 1089-1097; *G*, 161-164.)
3. An observation of Argentille's on her unhappy situation. (*E*, 1247-1250; *G*, 187-190.)
4. The fact that Ubbe himself goes to investigate the light that came from Havelok, as Sygar does in Gaimar. (*E*, 2096-2097; *G*, 639-640.)
5. The mention of a feast in Denmark.

⁸³ The punishment of Godrich forms a pendant to Godard's fate. In the French poems Edelsi dies at the end of a fortnight.

⁸⁴ A feast is spoken of in *F* (1087) and in *G* (806): *Rei Havelok la tin sa feste*. *La* is indefinite. In the preceding lines Gaimar speaks of the kingdom's extending from Hoiland to Colecestre; in *F* it is *la cite*; in *E*, *Lundone*.

⁸⁵ Also in *G* (817), *Vint anz fud reis*.

6. The placing of the expedition to England directly after the conquest of Denmark. (In *F* four years elapsed.)
7. The coincidence in the order in which events are narrated in the poem, those of England preceding those of Denmark.

1.

The enumeration of fishes does not prove a direct relation between *E* and *G*, for the list might have been in *F*'s original too, and reflected in *F* by the line *Asez nos trova a manger*, or by some such remark in *F*; or *F*'s source might have been independently expanded to an enumeration by the authors of *G* and *E*. The author of *E* was especially fond of naming articles of food, and as Skeat⁸⁶ says, quoting Madden: "The list of fishes here enumerated may be increased from line 189, and presents us with a sufficiently accurate notion of the different species eaten in the thirteenth century." Gaimar in his list of six gives two not in *E*, whereas in *E* many others are added. The enumeration may have been in a source common to all versions, but may also have been condensed in *F* and expanded directly from *F* in *E*, without any reference to Gaimar or Gaimar's source.

2.

It seems impossible to decide whether the passages referring to the king's ignorance of Havelok's rank are derived from a passage in the originals of *G* and *E*, or whether the authors independently made these casual observations on existing conditions. The actual remarks differ. In *E* the king made his plan treacherously, for he believed Havelok to be some churl's son. In *G*, although Havelok was in such a plight, he was really of noble birth; if the king had known this he would not have given him his niece.

3.

The references to Argentille's unhappiness after her marriage may also have been made independently and casually by the two authors. The lines are not alike. In *E* she lay awake and grieved that she was so betrayed. In *G* she went to the king and complained often: son uncle maldisseit.

⁸⁶ Ed. 1902, p. 111.

4.

The fact that Ubbe in *E* and Sygar in *G* go in person to see this light seems significant. But an examination of the accounts makes it seem less so. In *G* and *F* the circumstances are similar. Sygar suspects Havelok's origin and has him watched. His servants in *G*, the chamberlain in *F*, come to tell him of the flame. In *G* Sygar goes to see for himself, in the more courtly poem, *F*, he merely gives expression to his joy. A quite different version is found in *E*. Ubbe does not know who Havelok is, and, sleeping in a room near him, he is awakened by a bright light. He thinks Havelok must be revelling, and goes to see. Looking through a hole in a board, he sees a bright flame coming from both Havelok and Goldborough. Then he calls his knights and men to come and see what the wonder is. They all see the cross on Havelok's shoulder and know that he is Birkabeyn's son. Surely the popularizing of the incident, the exaggeration of the brightness of the flame, and the stressing of Ubbe's astonishment give enough motive for his going himself to see the light, whatever the original of this freely developed scene may have been. The description in *E* contains, moreover, new details of obviously late origin, such as the flame which comes forth from both, and which is brighter than one hundred and seven candles, and the cross which is needed to explain the flame.

5.

The feast in Denmark, mentioned in *G* and *E*, is not found in quite the same position in the two versions. In *E* the feast comes before the battle and is a kind of coronation feast. In *G* it follows the battle. One cannot be sure that the feast was mentioned in the source of *E*. It may have been introduced simply to duplicate the coronation feast of England (2344), since events in England and Denmark have been made to correspond in other respects. Like the latter celebration, it lasts forty days. The author of *E* introduced feasts and meals on all possible occasions. (Cf. 641-656, 922-926, 1714-1735, 1762-1766, 2339-2345.)

6.

The fact that the expedition to England immediately followed the peace in Denmark is not important. The author of the

Lay probably invented the delay, since in *G* it is not noted. Even had the English author had *F* before him he could have omitted the four years' delay, there being no reason for keeping it. In *F* it is unnecessary, but serves to make more emphatic the influence of Argentille, who moves Havelok to go to England. Note also that in *G* Havelok waits for a good wind in Grimsby; in *F* he sails immediately for Denmark.

No one of these arguments seems sufficient to prove a definite relationship between *G* and *E* or their sources, since the details seem in each case casual and natural.

7.

This last point of similarity—the similar order in the narration of events—has already been touched upon in Chapter II,⁸⁷ where it was noted that two out of the four Havelok versions must have changed the original order of the story, since two open with England and two with the story in Denmark. It seems significant that *E* corresponds to *G* in this particular, and although the theory of derivation from a common source appears to be a somewhat simpler explanation of the case than any other, we see that, even according to that theory, not every author, in telling his story of Havelok, followed exactly the order which he found in his source. Furthermore the change was a simple one, involving no internal alteration or adjustment in the passage which could have been merely shifted to another part of the poem. The transition from the English to the Danish part of the story was indicated by the following words, which practically separated the passage and made it easily transferable:

Of Goldeboru shul we nou laten,
Say we nou forth in ure spelle!
In þat time so it befelle,
Was in þe lond of Denemark, etc.

It seems therefore that this point, although more important than the other more casual resemblances, is not compelling evidence for the independence of the English Lay.

Turning now to a comparison between *E* and *F*, we note the following points:

⁸⁷ Pp. 13–15.

1. The outline of the story corresponds much more closely to *F* than to *G*.
2. The following passages offer some resemblances to each other, sometimes significant and sometimes as casual as the resemblances already noted between *E* and *G*.

- (a) 110-116. The king's daughter and his illness.
- (b) 189-203. The oath.
- (c) 280. The daughter thrives.
- (d) 706-716. The preparation of the boat and the embarkation of Grim's family.
- (e) 725. In *F* and *E* Grim arrives in England by chance; in *G* Grim sails for Lindeseie.
- (f) 734. *E*, In Lindeseye, riht at þe north ende; *F*, Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi.
- (g) 743-746. Explanation of the naming of Grimsby, lacking in *G*.
- (h) 839-859. The departure from Grimsby is different from that of *G*, and corresponds in the main to that of *F*, although the tone of the description is entirely changed and coarsened.
- (i) 895. The weight he could lift.
- (j) 912-919, 932. Enumeration of his duties. Very close to *F*.
- (k) 947. Glad and blipe, *E*; franc et deboneire, *F*.
- (l) 979-981, 1001-1003. The assembly at Lincoln. Gaimar mentions no special gathering at this time at Lincoln. *F* contains a reference to the king's court gathered there, with chevaliers and barons, and in *E* we read of a parliament with all the earls.
- (m) 1071-1072. In *E* Havelok's strength is stressed, and this strength suggested to the king the way to keep his oath and retain England too. Cf. *F*. *G* has merely the statement that the king made Havelok his juggler, although elsewhere reference is made to his strength (113-120).
- (n) 1077-1088. Description of the oath again.
- (o) 1266-1270. *E* is again closer to *F* in that the information furnished Argentille by the hermit is the same as that given Goldborough by the angel. In *G* Havelok's own explanation of the dream is the only one given.
- (p) 1659-1662. Ubbe's invitation to Havelok is in the same words used by the merchants in giving Havelok directions.
- (q) 1714. Time of eating in *F* and *E*.
- (r) 1942-1944. The seneschal with his knights goes to the fight.

- (s) 2246. The joy is stressed.
 (t) 2252-2253. The order in which homage is done Havelok.
 (u) 2314. Havelok is dubbed knight.
 (v) 2548-2558. The king commands his friends to assemble.

3. In many passages, where *E* is essentially different from *F* and *G*, *F* seems to represent a transitional form of the story between the simple form of *G* and the changed form of *E*. Compare for instance the following episodes :

(a) Argentille's Story.

G

Edelsi and Adelbrict are kings of two parts of England, and brothers-in-law. Adelbrict dies leaving a queen and a daughter Argentille. His queen goes to her brother Edelsi and gives Argentille and the kingdom into his charge. She dies. Edelsi to keep the kingdom marries Argentille to his cook Cuaran, whom he has noticed and made his juggler.

F

Alsi and Edelbright are kings of two parts of England, and brothers-in-law. Edelbright feels that he is to die, and sends for Alsi and puts in his care Argentille and the queen, making him take an oath to guard Argentille until she is of age, and then to marry her to the strongest man and restore the kingdom to her. The queen dies. Alsi keeps the kingdom ; the barons assemble to make him keep his vow ; he remembers Cuaran, whose strength has impressed him, and this Cuaran he marries to Argentille. (Havelok's story had already been told.)

E

Athelwold is king of all England ; he becomes ill, and sends for his earls to choose the best guardian for the kingdom ; they choose Godrich. He is made to swear that he will take care of Goldborough and marry her to the strongest man he can find. Athelwold dies. Godrich shuts Goldborough up in a tower and starves her. Then follows the story of Havelok.

G and *F* seem to have the original form of the story with the two kings. *G* appears to have the primitive conception in these early events of this narrative, for the queen plays an active part in it. She takes Argentille and goes to her brother. In *F* the guardianship idea is introduced and the queen is only mentioned. Alsi takes the oath to protect Argentille and marry her to the strongest man, *Veiant sa gent* (218). This scene is further developed in *E* where the assembly of nobles chooses the guardian.

(b) Havelok's Story.

G

Gunter is killed by treason of Hodulf. Hodulf is left in charge of Denmark. The queen of Gunter fears and flees with Havelok to Grim, the fisherman, who saves them in his boat. The queen is killed by pirates. The rest land in England. Grim supports them by fishing. When he dies, Havelok leaves Grimsby and goes to Edelsi's court.

F

Gunter before battle entrusts the queen and Havelok to the guardianship of Baron Grim. After the death of the king, Grim, fearing for them, leaves the strong castle and takes them in a boat on the sea. Pirates kill the queen. They land in England. Grim supports them by fishing. A town grows up named Grimsby for Grim. Distressed at the surroundings of Havelok, Grim sends him to court to seek his fortune and provides him with clothes.

E

Birkabeyn of Denmark had three children. About to die, he summons his barons to choose a guardian. Godard, when chosen, takes an oath to protect them and to give Havelok the kingdom. He shuts them in a tower, kills the girls and gives Havelok to Grim to drown. Grim saves the boy because of the light and the cross which reveal his royal birth. When Godard refuses the reward promised Grim, the latter with Havelok and his own family flees from him to the sea. Grim lands in England. A town grows up where he lives which is named for him; he supports his family by fishing. Famine comes; there are no fish. Grim calls Havelok and sends him to Lincoln to work. He makes him clothes from a sail.

The same point just discussed with reference to the queen, Adelbriht's wife, is illustrated again in this passage, where the queen's part is even more active. She fears, and, taking Havelok, flees and finds Grim. The guardianship here introduced by the author of *F* is even more clearly his own invention than is the guardianship of Argentille, for we know he made Grim a baron (from the poor fisherman of the legend) in order to make him a fit guardian. He changed the tone of the poem, and the estate of Grim. Is it not more likely that he introduced the courtly idea of a guardian for the queen and Havelok than that Gaimar dropped the mention of a guardian and invented the queen's own act? There is a duplication in *G*, *F*, and *E*. The two queens in *G* correspond. In *F* the two guardians are

similarly appointed but differ in their efficiency, one being good and one bad. In *E* a further deviation in the story is introduced and the guardianship is made to duplicate that of Godrich in England. Godard is appointed in the same manner, takes the oath in the same way, and is in reality the arch traitor (Hodulf of the French versions) in the role of guardian, which Grim represents in the Lay. In this connection the substitution and duplication make evident the artificiality and the lack of primitive traits in both *F* and *E*. The primitive character conjectured for Gaimar's story seems attested by a comparison with those versions, and also the intermediate, transitional character of *F* is shown. Furthermore, the description of the departure from Grimsby, to which frequent reference has been made in Chapter II, seems especially to bear witness to the same process of development from *G* to *F* and from *F* to *E*. In the light of what has already been seen of the three versions, does it not seem probable that Gaimar reported the points of the tale unchanged, when he noted that after Grim died Havelok left Grimsby and appeared at Edelsi's court? The author of the *Lai d'Havelok*, desiring a more chivalrous scene, and one more in keeping with the traditional departure of a knight, might easily have introduced the episode, and in so doing made Havelok leave Grimsby during the lifetime of Grim. Grim called Havelok, gave him counsel and presented him with clothes. This change is in accord with the spirit of the Lay. The writer of the English poem, however, composed his work for a different audience, and the tone of this episode in the English Lay is therefore altogether different. Although the courtly, refined traits of *F* are lost or coarsened in *E*, the general outlines of the episode of *F* are paralleled. Havelok leaves home during Grim's lifetime; Grim calls him, gives him advice as he sends him to Lincoln to seek work, and makes him clothes. May not the passage of *F* perhaps in a later and much modified form have suggested the scene developed in *E*?

What conclusions does our detailed study of the versions lead us to? Are the slight and rather casual resemblances between *G* and *E*, and the fact that they both begin with the English part of the story, sufficient evidence to show that *G*, *F*, and *E* emanated from a common source? Or, on the other hand, are the more numerous and often more definite resem-

blances between *F* and *E*, the closer correspondence of their stories in general outline, and the seemingly transitional character of *F* when considered with *G* and *E* in certain episodes, enough to show influence of *F* on *E*, whether that influence was exerted directly or indirectly, late or early in the development of *E*?

A number of possibilities present themselves for investigation, such as the following: Was Kupferschmidt's supposition the correct one after all, in spite of the fact that he did not offer adequate proof of it? Was, on the other hand, the French Lay directly or indirectly the source of *E*? Was there perhaps a later work related to the *Lai d'Havelok* as the romance of Galeran to the Lay of Le Fraïse? and did the author of *E* know it? Or, could a chronicle account which contained the story in which traits of *G* and *F* were already blended have served as the basis of *E*?

Fortunately our study does not have to wait for the solution of the question of the source of the English Lay. Unless proof is offered concerning the source of *E*, we are no longer hampered in the consideration of the relationship of *F* and *G*, and the problem of the origin and relationship of the various versions of *Havelok* may be approached as well from the French as from the English side. Moreover, if definite knowledge of the sources of *F* and *G* can be gained, the problems of the English Lay will be simplified.

We are now ready to take up the discussion at the point where Kupferschmidt faced the alternatives: did *F* and *G* have a common source, or did *F* come from *G*? But, no longer bound by the consideration of the English Lay, we are free to take up the investigation of his rejected alternative. Could Gaimar's account have been used by the author of the French Lay?

IV

A Comparison of the French Lay and Gaimar's Version

We have already seen in Chapter I that a certain number of scholars failed to follow the majority in the adoption of Kupferschmidt's theory. A few of them, it will be remembered, expressed with more or less conviction their opinion that the French Lay might have been derived from Gaimar's version. Ward alone gave his reasons for this view, and these were set aside by Putnam. There has been, as far as I know, no attempt to make a line by line comparison of Gaimar's account with the French Lay, although the existence of nearly identical lines in these two versions has been pointed out in some detail by Kupferschmidt and others. But the relative number of such lines, the kinds of resemblances they contain, and the fact that they occur singly or in long passages, should give evidence quite as important as that offered by the differences existing between the two works,—differences which up to the present have been much stressed. Therefore the first step in considering the French Lay and Gaimar's story is such a comparison. The following pages will contain the text of the Lay, each line of which will be accompanied by a corresponding line of Gaimar's text if one is to be found. Passages from the latter poem which contain a mere suggestion, or occasionally an interesting point of difference, will be given in parentheses.

It is much to be regretted that no critical text of either Gaimar or the Lay exists. The best edition of Gaimar, on which this comparison is based, is that of Hardy and Martin (1888–1889), which was criticized severely by Paul Meyer, who said that Sir Thomas Hardy, although deeply versed in the sources of English history and experienced in Latin texts, “*était évidemment peu familier avec l'ancien français, et surtout avec la critique qu'il convient d'appliquer aux textes écrits en cette langue.*”¹

¹ *Rom.* XVIII, pp. 314–318. Cf. p. 315. Paul Meyer comments on the editor's inexact manner of denoting omissions and additions in the other manu-

The text of the Lay is also from the Hardy-Martin edition of Gaimar (p. 290). The editor published Ms. *H*² and gave for the first time variants from the older Ms. *P*. These variants are not entirely satisfactory, because they are evidently indicated no more carefully than are the variants of Gaimar's text. On page 10 this statement was made: "Thus far every variation of spelling in Mss. *D* and *L* is noticed. It will not be so in the future." In the Lay passages of from six to ten lines are often found with no variant given,³ and some mechanical errors are also patent.⁴

Yet notwithstanding the lack of critical texts, it will probably be possible to draw enough evidence from the comparison of the Lay and Gaimar's version in their present condition to throw some light on the question of their relationship. Do they show the marks of a common source, or does the Lay clearly point to Gaimar as its starting point?

scripts, when giving variants; and he criticizes especially the way in which the text is composed. The editor chose Ms. *M* of the British Museum for his edition, retained all its defective readings, and gave the correct readings merely among the variants from the other Mss., *D* and *L*, thereby leaving the reader to form his own text. The method is illogical since, when any lacuna occurs in Ms. *M*, a word, a line, or a whole passage is inserted from Mss. *D* and *L* with different spelling, and with indications not definite enough to show the beginning and end of the lacuna. In concluding his remarks on the text, Paul Meyer adds: "On comprend que je ne puis songer à proposer des améliorations à un texte qui reste entièrement à faire" (p. 317).

² See chapter I, p. 6, n. 3, for manuscripts. Ms. *H* is in the Herald's College; Ms. *P* at Cheltenham.

³ Cf. 1070-1077, 410-420, 836-843, 930-938.

⁴ Variant in line 43 reads Tels]tieus *P*, which would indicate that *H* reads Tels, *P* tieus, but *H* in the text reads Tieus; 161 atendre]entendre *P*, although *H* has entendre; 271 tut]omitted *L* (?); 294 should be numbered 293 oit]out, and qe cil]quil, which follows without number, indicating, according to the system used, that the line is also 294, probably refers to 293; 295 re-queste]requist *P*, should be 294; 323 troueroie should be 324; 370 Li]Si, *P* should be 369; 553 should be 552; 554 should be 553; 581 has lui]ceo *P*, where ceo stands in the text, and the third part of 1082 should be 1084. In giving the variants I have corrected errors in numbering the lines, in the other cases I have omitted the readings entirely.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 24 De son pierre dirrai auant.
 25 Gunter out non, si fut Danois,
 26 La terre tint, si estoit rois,
 27 En icel tens qe Arthur regna,
 28 Vers Danemarche mer passa,
 29 La terre vout souz mettre a soi
 30 Et le treu auer del roi;
 31 Au roi Gunter se combati
 32 Et as Danois, sis venqui.
 33 Li rois meismes i fut occis,
 34 Et plusurs autres del pais.
 35 Hodulf loccist par traison,
 36 Qui touz iors out le quor felon.
 37 Quant Arthur out finie sa guerre,
 38 Hodulf dona tote la terre
 39 Et les homages des barons,
 40 Puis sen ala od ses Bretons;⁷
 41 Qe par destreit, qe par poour,

GAIMAR

- 400 Vus fustes fiz a un bon rei.
 403 Li vostre pere out nun Gunter;⁵
 401 Danemarche out par heritage,
 409 Mes co avint en vostre terre,
 410 Li reis Arthur, la vint conqueere,
 411 Pur sun treu, que li detint;
 413 Al rei Gunter semblad contraire;
 414 Juste la mer li tint bataille.
 415 Ocis i fu li reis Gunter,
 416 E dambes parz maint chevalier:
 513 Pur son seignur, (Gunter), kil
 (Hodulf) aveit mort,
 517 Pur co kil (Hodulf) ert traitres e
 fel,⁶
 417 Ki Arthur volt, dona la terre.
 523 Cist reis (Hodulf) ki donc ert el
 pais,
 511 Ki donc ert reis poistifs⁸

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|---|-----------------------------------|
| 25 Danois) Daneis. | 33 occis) ossis. |
| 28 Vers) En. Danemarche) Dene-
marche. | 34 autres) altres. |
| 29 vout) volt. souz) omitted. | 36 quor) quer. |
| 32 sis) tuz les. | 41 destreit) destresce. qe) tant. |

Note.—To avoid confusion I omit the brackets used in the Hardy-Martin edition to indicate forms supplied in the text of Gaimar from Mss. *D* and *L* to fill lacunae in Ms. *M*. Wherever variants of Ms. *P* of the Lay are closer to Gaimar than the readings of Ms. *H*, they are added to the reading of the text, and in the same way such variants of Mss. *D* and *L* of Gaimar as resemble the Lay more nearly are included in the text of Ms. *M*. The lines of the Lay which are practically identical with Gaimar's are italicized in my text.

⁵ The Lay omits details given in Gaimar. The queen is Alive, the daughter of Gaifer.

⁶ Gaimar adds that Hodulf killed Gunter (514): Par la vertu de Artur le fort; Kil out par treison mande, E cel pais li out done. The author of the Lay does not explain how he killed him.

⁷ The author of the Lay alone mentions the Bretons (40). Gaimar's account leaves Arthur's departure to be inferred from his investing Hodulf with power.

⁸ Gaimar states this fact when commenting on Sygar and his adherents, who held aloof from Hodulf.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 42 Hodulf seruirent li plusour.
 43 Tieus iout, li quistrent mal,
 44 Par le consail Sigar Lestal,
 45 Qui prodome fut et riche bier,
 46 Et bien sauoit guerroier.
 47 Cil auoit le corn a garder,⁹
 48 Qe nuls homs ne pout soner,
 49 Si dreit heir ne fust del lignage
 50 Sur les Danois par heritage.
 51 Einz qe li rois Arthurs venist,
 52 Ne od les Danois se combatist,
 53 Gunter auoit vn soen chastel
 54 Sus la marine, fort et bel;
 55 De viande estoit bien garniz;
 56 Dedenz mist sa femme et son fiz;
 57 A vn baron de la contree
 58 En ad la garde comandee.
 59 Grim¹⁰ out non, mult le crei,
 60 Leaument lout touz tens serui.
 61 Sur totes riens li comanda
 62 Son fiz, quil forment ama;
 63 Qe si de lui mesauenoit,
 64 En bataille sil morroit,

GAIMAR

- 512 Sur l'altre gent de cel pais,
 505 Iloc maneit uns riches hom,
D L Lestarle
 506 Sigar Estalre aveit nun:
 507 Seneschal fu al rei Gunter,
 508 E de sa terre justiser.
 509 Maes ore ert tels ken peis teneit;
 510 E icel riche rei forment haeit,
 518 Plus en unt tenu conseil
 519 Ke ja od li ne se tendrunt,
 683 Cel corn aveit Sygar garde,
 684 Li reis Gunter li out livere.
 677 Si ke nuls ja corner loist,
D nel
 678 Si rei u dreit air le feist:
 679 De Denemarche le dreit air
 680 Le pot ben soner, pur vair;

579 (Un mariner, ki Grim out nun,)

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| 44 consail) conseil. | 51 Arthurs) Arthur. |
| 45 riche bier) riches ber. | 53 Gunter) Gunters. |
| 46 guerroier) guere mener. | 54 Sus) Sur. |
| 48 pout) poeit. | 60 touz tens) tut dis. |
| 49 dreit) dreiz. fust) fut. lignage) li- | 61 totes riens) tote ren. |
| nage. | 64 sil morroit) ou il irreit. |

⁹ The horn and flame are not anticipated in a description by Gaimar, but his facts in regard to them are the same when they are brought into the story.

¹⁰ Grim's part is changed. He is a baron entrusted with the care of the queen and Havelok. He protects them in a castle, and prepares a boat for flight as Hodulf becomes more aggressive. In G the queen fears and flees with Havelok to the mariner Grim, who saves them in his boat. Hodulf is emphasized more than in Gaimar.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

65 *Qa* son poeir le garantist
 66 Et fors del pais le meist,
 67 Quil ni fust ne pris ne trouez,
 68 Na ses enemis liuerez
 69 Li emfes nestoit gaires granz,
 P dous
 70 Nauoit mie plus de vii. anz;
 71 Totes les heures qil dormoit
 72 Vne flambe de lui issoit,
 73 Par la bouche li venoit fors;
 74 Si grant chalur auoit el cors.
 75 La flambe rendoit tiel odour,
 76 Onc ne sentit nul home meillour.¹¹
 77 A grant merueille le tenoient
 78 Cil de la terre qui la veoient.
 79 Puis qe li rois Gounter fut morz,
 80 Et ses barons et son efforz,
 81 Hodulf chai et dechaca
 82 Tuz ceus qil sout qil ama.
 83 La reyne grant pooour out,
 84 Et li prodoms qi la gardout,
 85 Que le chastel sus eus preist,
 86 Et le fiz le roi occeist.
 87 Nont mie force a eus defendre,
 88 Autre consail lur estoet prendre.¹²
 89 Grim fet niefs apparailler,
 90 Et de viande bien charger,
 91 Fors del pais sen uout fuir

580 Men menat petit valetun.
 625 Si li membrat
 627 De la flambe ki ert issant
 628 De sa buche, quant ert dormant.

418 Meis la reine, pur la guere,
 419 Ne pout en la terre remaneir;
 420 Si sen fui od le dreit air.

423 (Mis pere aveit mult bon nef;)

Variants of Ms. P

66 fors) hors. le meist) sen fuist.	80 ses barons) si barun. son) ses.
67 ni) ne.	81 chai) hai.
69 gaires) gueres.	85 le) lur. preist) preisseist.
70 vij) dous.	86 fiz) fiiz. occeist) esteit.
71 dormoit) dormeit.	87 Nont mei) Nen mie. A eus) pur
73 Par la bouche) De sa buche.	els.
74 el) al.	88 estoet) estut.
75-76 Omitted.	89 niefs) sa nef. apparailler) apareiler.
78 qui la veoient) kil saueient.	91 uout) uult.

¹¹ It is interesting to note that these additional attributes of the flame are not found in the older manuscript of *F*. This may have been through an oversight, but it is also possible that these lines were inserted later.

¹² The description of preparations for flight and of the embarcation belongs entirely to *F*. One line (429) of *G*, however, refers to the *chevaliers et nostre gent*, so that the queen was not unaccompanied.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

92 Pur le droit hoir de mort garrir ;
 93 La reyne merra od soi,
 94 Pur la doute del felon roi,
 95 Qui occis auoit son seignur ;
 96 Tost feroit a li deshonur.
 97 Quant sa nief fut apparaillee,
 98 Dedenz fist entrer sa meisnee,

P chamberlencs

99 Ses cheualers et ses serganx,
 100 Sa femme demeine et ses enfanz ;
 101 La reyne mist el batel,
 102 Haueloc tint souz son mantel ;
 103 Il meismes apres entra
 104 A Dieu del ciel se comanda.
 105 Del hauene sont desancre,
 106 Car il eurent bon orre ;
 107 Le trauers eurent de la mier,
 108 Mes ne sieuent queu part aler ¹³
 109 Ou garder pussent lur seignur.
 110 Malement lur *auint* le iour ; ¹⁴
 111 *Car outlaghes les encontrerent*,
 112 Qui hautement les escrierent.
 113 Mult durement les assaillirent,
 114 Et cil forment se defendirent ;
 115 Mes il eurent poi desforz,
P *La nef unt robe e mal mise*,
 E la Reine i fu ossise.
 116 Li outlaghe les ont touz morz.

117 Ni remist nul petit ne grant

424 (La raine amenout suef :)

425 (Vers cest pais lamenout,)

426 " Quant si *auint*, cum Deu plout,

427 " *De utlaghes fumes encontrez :*

438 (Nostre nef)

D *L* frainte e malmise

439 *Car tute fu freite, e malveise,*

440 *Quant la raine fu oscise.*

428 En mer furent *trestuz* ruez

429 Nos chevalers, e nostre gent,

431 Unc ne guari hom, *fors mun pere*,

Variants of Ms. P

92 garrir) guarir.
 93 merra) mettra.
 95 Qui) Ke.
 97 apparaillee) aparile.
 99 cheualers) chamberlencs.
 100 demeine) ameine.
 104 Dieu) Deu. se) les.
 105 sont) se sunt.
 106 eurent) auient. orre) ore.

107 eurent) curent.
 108 Mes il ne seuent quel part turner.
 110 iour) ior.
 111 Outlaghes) Utlages.
 112 hautement) laidement.
 114 forment) de la nef.
 115 *P* adds: La nef unt robe e mal
 mise, E la Reine i fu ossise.
 117 grant) granz.

¹³ In *F* Grim is represented as sailing at random. In *G* they may have directed their flight toward Lindsey.

¹⁴ The details of the voyage and of the attack of the pirates are strikingly similar. The only difference is the emphasis placed by the author of the Lay on the valor of the queen's party and the impossibility of escape from the pirates.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

118 *Fors Grim, qui ert lur conoissant,*
 119 *Sa femme et ses enfanx petiz,*
 120 *Et Haueloc i est garriz.*

121 Puis qe de eus furent eschape,
 122 *Tant ont nage et tant sigle*
 123 *Qen vne hauene sont paruenue,*
 124 *Et de la nief a terre issu.*
 125 *Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi.¹⁵*
 126 *A icel tens qe ieo vus di,*
 127 *Ni out onques home habite,*
 128 *Ne cele hauene nert pas haunte.*
 129 *Il i adresca primes maison ;*
 130 *De lui ad Grimesbi a non.*
 131 *Quant Grim primes i ariua,*
 132 *En ii. moitez sa nief trencha,*
 133 *Les chiefs en ad amont dresce ;*
 134 *Iloec dedenz sest herberge.*
 135 *Pescher aloit si com il soloit,¹⁶*
 136 *Siel vendoit et achatoit,*
 137 *Tant qil fut iloc bien seu,*
 138 *Et des paisanz bien coneu.*
 139 *Plusurs a li sacompaignerent,*
 140 *Sus le hauene se herbergerent ;*
 141 *Pur son non, qil eurent oi,*
 142 *Le liu appellerent Grimesbi.*

GAIMAR

433 *Mis pere estait lur conussant ;*
 432 *Ne nule femme, fors ma mere.*
 434 *Pur co guarirent li enfant,*
 435 *E jo, e vus, e mi dui frere,*
 436 *Par la priere de mun pere.*

495 (*Tant unt nage e governe,*)

437 *En cest pais quant arivames,*
 438 *Nostre grant nef par mi tren-*
 chames ;
 441 *De nostre nef meison feimes :*
 442 *Par un batel ben guarisimes,*
 443 *Dunt nostre pere ala pescher.*
 380 *Grim vendi sel, si fu peschere.*

Variants of Ms. P

118 conoissant) conisanz.	129 adresca) dresca.
121 furent) fu. eschape) eschapee.	132 moitez) meites.
122 nage) nagee. sigle) siglee.	135 aloit) alad. soloit) sout.
123 Qen) Ke a.	136 Siel) Sel.
124 nief) nef.	137 seu) seuz.
125 Ceo) Ce. el) en.	138 coneu) coneuz.
126 A) Mes a. qe) dunt.	140 Sus) Sur.
127 onques) vnques.	141 eurent) orent.
128 nert pas) naent.	142 appellerent) apellent.

¹⁵ All the information about Grimsby, the harbor and the growth of the town is found only in *F*.

¹⁶ This is a second failure to be consistent in the part of Baron which the author of *F* has attributed to the fisherman Grim.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 143 Li prodoms son seigneur nurrit,¹⁷
 144 Et sa femme bien le seruit.
 145 Pur lur enfant tuz le tenoient,
 146 Car autre chose ne sauoient.
 147 Grim li out fet changer son non,
 148 Qe par tant nel conuist lom.¹⁸
 149 Li emfes creut et amenda;¹⁹
 150 De cors, de membres efforca;
 151 Einz quil eust gaires de ee
 152 Ni trouast il home barbe,
 153 Sencontre lui liuter vousist,
 154 Qe li emfes ne labatist.
 155 Mult fut forz et vertuous,
 156 Et enpernant et airous.
 157 A merueille sen esioit²⁰
 158 Grim le prodome, qi le nurrit;
 159 Mes de ceo out le queor dolent
 160 Quil nert nurri entre tiele gent
 161 Ou il puist auques entendre
- (li prodom)
 588 Ki me nuri, e mult mama:
 589 Il e sa femme me nurirent,
 590 E mult me nurirent e cherirent.
 113 Naveit valet en la meison,
 114 Si lui feseit ahataison
 115 E sur lui comencast mellees,
 D L ruast
 116 Kil nel rucit jambes levees:
 111 Mes pur co que hardi estait,
 117 (E quant il ben se corucout)

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 143 prodoms) prodome. nurrit) norri. | 155 fut) par ert. |
| 144 bien le seruit) mult le cheri. | 158 nurrit) noriseit. |
| 145 enfant) enfanz. le) les. | 159 queor) quer. |
| 153 liuter) luter. vousist) volsist. | 160 nurri) noriz. tiele) tel. |

¹⁷ These lines (143-144) also resemble those of G (453-455 ff.). Tant cum vesqui, il e ma mere Bien vus nurrit, mielz que mi frere. In *F seruit* shows additional respect for Havelok as the heir to the throne.

¹⁸ Gaimar does not comment on the concealment of Havelok's real name. It may be considered as implied, however, since he did not know his name until told it by Kelloc (421-422). Co estes vus, si cum jo crei, Danz Haveloc, le fiz le rei. That he was considered one of Grim's family and considered himself as such is shown by lines 365-376, and especially by line 367: Tu es ma suer, jo sui tis frere, Ambure de pere e de mere. Grim fud mis pere, un peschur, Ma mere ot nun Sebrug, sa uxor, etc.

¹⁹ Gaimar's description of Havelok follows the mention of his arrival at court. Physical strength and valor are emphasized in it also, but the whole conception is more rudely expressed. *F* contains another description of Havelok at court corresponding more closely to Gaimar's.

²⁰ The following account, which explains Havelok's departure from Grimsby, belongs to *F* only. Gaimar simply states that after Grim died Havelok left the place.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

162 Et afetement apendre ;
 163 Car il quidoit en son corage
 164 Qe encore aueroit son heritage.
 165 Grim lappella vn iour a soi ;
 166 "Beau fiz," fet il, "entend a moi ;
 167 "Ici manom mult soutiuement,
 168 "Od pescheours, od poure gent,
 169 "Qui se garrissent de pescher ;
 170 "Tu ne siez rien de cel mester ;
 171 "Ici ne poez sauer nul bien,
 172 "Tu ni gaigneras ia rien.
 173 "Va ten, beau fiz, en Engleterre
 174 "Aprendre sens et auoir querre ;
 175 "Tes freres meine ensemble od toi ;
 176 "En la curt a vn riche roi
 177 "Te met, beau fiz, souz les serganx.
 178 "Tu es forz, parcreuz, et granz,
 179 "Si porras grant fes porter.
 180 "A tote gent te fai amer,
 181 "Si tabandoune del seruir
 182 "Quant tu porras en liu venir ;
 183 "Et Dieu te dount si espleiter
 184 "Qe auques i puissez gaigner."
 185 Quant li prodoms lout enseigne,
 186 Et de draps apparaille,
 187 De lui le fist partir a peine.
 188 Les ii. valez od li ameine.²¹
 189 Tuit troi quidoient estre frere,
 190 Si come lur auoit dit lur piere.
 191 Tant ont le droit chemin tenu,
 192 Quil sont a Nichole venu.
 193 A ICEL tens qe ieo vus di,²² ———

Variants of Ms. P

162 Afaitement e sens aprendre.	174 auoir) auer.
164 heritage) corage.	177 beau) beus. serganx) seruanz.
166 beau) Beu.	178 Tu es mult fors e cruz e granz.
168 pescheours) pechurs.	179 porras) poras ben.
169 de) par.	181 del) de.
170 siez) sez. cel) lur.	186 draps) noues dras.
171 poez) poez tu.	189 Tuit troi) Tuz treiz.
172 Ne ia ne gainerez ren.	191 le) lur.

²¹ The only resemblance to Gaimar's account in the whole passage is the fact that Havelok takes the two foster brothers with him. In *F* Grim advises him to do so.

²² Gaimar mentions Adelbrit first, and *Li altres* refers to Edelsi (49). In *F* Alsí comes first.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

194 Vn roi qert nome Alsi
 195 Tenoit en la terre en sa baillie,
 196 Nicole et tote Lindesie,
 197 Cele partie vers le north ;
 198 Et Rotelande et Stanford²³
 199 Out cil Alsi en heritage ;
 200 Mes il estoit Bret par lignage.²⁴

201 Le roiaume vers les Surois²⁵
 202 Gouvernoit vns autres rois ;²⁶

203 Ekenbright out cil rois a non,
 204 Mult out en lui noble baron.

205 Il out la sorour Alsi
 206 (Compaignon furent et ami),

207 Orewen, vne dame vaillant ;

208 Mes entre eus neurent enfant
 209 Mes qe vne fille bele ;
 210 Argentille out non la pucele.

211 Rois Ekenbright fut enfermez,²⁷
 212 Et de grant mal forment greuez.
 213 Bien siet nen poet garrir ;

GAIMAR

D L Edelsi

49 Li altres out nun Edelsie ;

D L Lindesi

50 Sue ert Nicole e Lindeseie,

51 Des Humbre desken Roteland

52 Ert le pais en son comant :

61 Li altre rei estait Breton,

62 Ki Edelsi aveit a nun :

53 Li altre ert reis de la contree

54 Ki ore est Nortfolc apelee.

D L Achebrit ot

47 Adelbrit aveit a nun li uns des reis ;

48 Riches hom fu, si ert Daneis :

58 Edelsi dona sa sorur

D L Achebrit

59 A Adelbrit, cel riche reis,

63 Sa sorur out nun Orwain ;

64 Mult ert franche, e de bone main.

65 De son seigneur out une fille,

66 Ke lom apela Argentille.

D Achebricht, L Achebrit

79 Mes donc avint ke Adelbricht fu
 mort.

Variants of Ms. P

194 Alsi) Edelsi.
 197 Cele) E le.
 198 Stanford) Estanfort.
 199 cil Alsi) ausi.
 200 Bret) Brez.
 201 roiaume) realme. Surois) Suriens.
 202 Gouvernoit) Gouvernout ores.
 203 Ekenbright) E Sehebrit.

207 Orewen) Orwein.
 208 entre eus neurent) il naueient nul.
 209 Fors vne sule file bele.
 210 pucele) damaisele.
 211 Echebrit chai en enfermete.
 212 forment) fu mult. greuez) greue.
 213 poet) pora.

²³ A difference in geographical detail is to be noted, as well as the statement that Alsi held his kingdom *en heritage*.

²⁴ In *G* Edelsi is *Bretun*, as Adelbrit is a Dane. In *F* he is *Bret par lignage*.

²⁵ This geographical detail varies in the two accounts.

²⁶ The author of *F* does not mention that Ekenbright is a Dane.

²⁷ This is an important difference. Gaimar states merely that Adelbrit died. The author of *F* represents him as about to die and sending for Alsi, to whom he confides the queen, the kingdom, and Argentille with conditions which Alsi binds himself by oath to fulfill.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

214 Alsi fet a lui venir,
 215 Sa fille li ad comandee
 216 Et sa terre tote liueree.
 217 Primerement li fet iurer,
 218 Veiant sa gent, et affier,
 219 Qe leaument la nurrireit,
 220 Et sa terre lui gardereit,
 221 Tant qe le fust de tiel age
 222 Que souffrir porroit mariage;
 223 Quant la pucele seit granz,
 224 Par le consail de ses tenanz,
 225 Au plus fort home la dorroit
 226 Qe el reaume troueroit;
 Ms. *P* (Ken la terre trouer poreit.)
 227 Quil li baillast ses citez,
 P (Pus li bailla les fermetez,)
 228 Ses chasteus et ses fermetez,
 P (Les chasteuz e les citez,)
 229 Sa niece en garde et sa sorour,
 230 Et tuz les homes de lonur.
 231 Mes la reyne enmaladit;
 P Echebrit
 232 Puis qe Ekenbright finit,
 233 Hastiuelement refut finie,
 234 Lez son seignur fut enfouie.²⁸
 235 De EUS estoet ore ci lesser.
 236 De Haueloc voil auant conter.
 237 Rois Alsi, qui donc regna
 238 Et les ii. regnes gouerna,
 239 Bone curt tint et grant gent;
 240 A Nicole manoit souent.
 241 Cil Haueloc a sa curt vint
 242 Et vn keu le roi le retint,

89 Car la raine ert enfermee,
 90 Ne mais vint jurs ad duree
 L Achebrit
 91 Apres Albrict: quant fu finie,
 92 Unt la raine ensepelie;

153 Il ert issi, en la meison,

Variants of Ms. P

215 fille) nece.	226-228 As in the text.
217 Primerement) Premerement. li)	232 Ekenbright) Echebrit.
le.	235 ci) omitted. lesser) laisser.
221 tiel) tele.	236 conter) traier.
222 porroit) pout.	239 et) mult ot.
223 seit) serreit.	242 Et vn keu) Vn des ceus.
225 dorroit) dureit.	

²⁸ According to *G*, the queen goes to her brother after Adelbrit's death, and puts the kingdom into his charge before her own death. In *F*, since Adelbright had already taken this step, it is stated merely that the queen died soon after her husband.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 243 Purceo qe fort le vist et grant,
 244 Et mult le vist de bon semblant.
 245 Merueillous fes poeit leuer,
 246 Busche tailler, ewe porter.
 247 Les esquieles receuoit,
 248 Et apres manger les lauoit ;
 249 Et quantquil poeit purchacer
 250 Piece de char ou pain enter,
 251 Mult le donoit volentiers,
 252 As valez et as esquiers,
 253 Tant estoit franc et deboneire,
 254 Que tuz voloit lur pleisir fere.
 255 Pur la franchise qil out,
 256 Entre eus le tenoient pur sot ;
 257 De lui fesoient lur deduit,²⁹
 258 Cuaran lappelloient tuit ;
 259 Car ceo tenoient li Breton³⁰
 260 En lur language quistrun.
 261 Souent le menoient auant
 262 Li cheualer et li sergant,
 263 Pur la force qen li fu ;
 264 Desquil seurent sa grant vertu,
 265 Deuant eus liuter le fesoient

 266 As plus forz homes qil sauoient,
 267 Et il trestouz les abatit ;
 268 Et si nuls de eus le mesdeisist,
 269 Par dreite force le *lioit* :
 270 Tant le tenoit et iustisoit

GAIMAR

- 154 Esqueler a une quistrun.

 106 Mes mult par ert bel valetun.

 136 Feseit sovent mult larges dons,
 135 E as valez de la meisons.

 111 Mes pur co que hardi estait,
 112 E volunters se combateit,
 113 Naveit valet en la meison,
 114 Si lui feseit ahataison
 115 E sur lui comencast mellees,
 116 Kil nel rucit jambes levees :
 117 E quant il ben se corucout,
 118 De sa ceinture le *liout* :
 119 E si cil donc naveit guarant,
 120 Bien le bateit a un vergant.
 121 E nepurhoc tant frans esteit,

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 244 le vist) esteit. bon) bel. | 255 qil) quen li. |
| 245 Merueillous) Merueiles. | 256 pur) a. |
| 247 receuoit) receiueit. | 258 Cuaran) Curant. |
| 248 les lauoit) de co serueit. | 260 quistrun) pur quistrun. |
| 251 Mult par les dona volunters. | 263 fu) feu. |
| 254 Que) A. | 264 Des) Pus. seurent) sorent. |

²⁹ Havelok's position at court is made more humiliating by the author of *F*. Gaimar's Havelok is generous and beloved by his associates. In *F* his knightly generosity and amiability are scorned by his associates. His duties are enumerated in *F*, but not in *G*.

³⁰ This allusion to the Bretons is found only in *F*.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

D L li

- 271 Quil li auoit tut pardone,
 272 Et quil restoient acorde.³¹
P Li Reis memes mut souent
 Le fit luter deuant sa gent,
 273 Li rois forment sesmerueilloit
 274 De la force qen lui veoit.
 275 Dis des plus forz de sa meson
 276 Neurent vers li nule fuison ;
 277 XII. homes ne poeient leuer
 278 Le fes que il poeit porter
 279 En la curt fut lungement,
 280 Dici qun assemblement,³²
 281 Qe li baron a la curt vindrent
 282 Qui de Ekenbright lur terre tind-
 rent ;
 283 Et lors tenoient de Argentille
 284 La meschine, quert sa fille,
 285 Que ia estoit creue et grant,
 286 Et bien poeit auoir enfant.
 287 Le roi en ont a raison mis,
 288 Et de sa niece lont requis.
 289 Qa tiel home la mariast
 290 Qis meintenist et conseillast,
 291 Et si gardast son serement

- 122 Si lui vallez li prometteit
 123 Ke pur ico mains nel amast,
 124 Ignelure le deliast.
 125 Quant il se erent entrebaisez,
 126 Donc estait Cuharan haitez ;
 166 De lui son juleur feseit.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 272 restoient) esteient. | 279 fut) fu ben. |
| 273 Li Reis memes mut souent, | 280 Dici qun) Deska un. |
| Le fit luter deuant sa gent, | 283 lors) ore. |
| A grant merueille le teneit | 284 quert) qui fu. |
| De la force ken lui auoit. | 285-286 in <i>P</i> follow 287-288. |
| 276 Nen auoient a lui fuison. | 285 creue) cruz. grant) granz. |
| 277 poeient) poreient. | 286 enfant) enfanz. |
| 278 que il poeit) quil sul soleit. | 290 Qis) Ke les. |
-

³¹ The accounts of the wrestling contests of Havelok in *F* and *G* differ in tone and detail but represent the same events. In 269 of *F* *lioit* corresponds to Gaimar's *De sa ceinture le liout*. In *F* the knights know of Havelok and have him wrestle for them. *Ms. P*, however, is closer to *G*. The king himself has Havelok wrestle for him. In *G*, too, the knights know of Havelok, for they make him presents (141-142).

³² In *F* there is a special assembly of the barons in behalf of Argentille, at Alsi's court. The description of this scene between Alsi and the barons is found only in *F* (279-376).

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

292 Quil sen aquitast leaument.
 293 Li rois oit qe cil disoient,
 294 Et la requeste qe cil fesoient;
 295 Vn respit lur en demanda,
 296 Et dist quil sen conseiliera;
 297 Sauer voudra et demander
 298 A qui il la porra doner.
 299 Terme lur mist et ior noma,
 300 A repairer les comanda
 301 Quant il se serra conseiliez;
 302 Et il si fut mult veziez.
 303 A ses priuez en ad parle.
 304 Et son corage tut demustre;
 305 Consail lur quist et demanda,
 306 De ceus qi requeroient ia
 307 Qa sa niece donast seignur
 308 Qis maintenist a honur;
 309 Mes il vout mielz souffrir lur guerre
 310 Qil ne soit dessaisi de la terre.
 311 Ceo li dient si conseiller:—
 312 “Fetes la loignz enmener
 313 “En Bretaigne, dela la mer,
 314 “Et a vos parenz comander;
 315 “Nonaine seit en vne abbeie,
 316 “Si serue Dieu tote sa vie,”
 317 “Seignurs, tut el enpense ai,
 318 “Tut autrement men deliuerai.
 319 “Rois Ekenbright, quant il fina
 320 “Et sa fille me comanda,
 321 “Vn serement me fist iurer,
 322 “Veianz vus touz, et affier,
 323 “Que au plus fort home la dorroie
 324 “Que en la terre troueroie.
 325 “Leaument me pus acquiter;

Variants of Ms. P

292 Quil sen aquitast) Ke il les tenist.	312 enmener) en veier.
293 oit) out.	313 Bretaigne) Bretagne.
294 qe cil) quil. requeste) requist.	314 Et) Sil faites.
296 dist quil) pus il.	317 tut el) fet il.
299 et ior) ior lur.	318 Tut) Ke.
301 se) omitted.	319 Quant Echebrist li Reis fina.
302 Et il si) E issi. veziez) ueissez.	320 fille) terre.
304 tut) lurad. demustre) mustre.	322 vus touz) sa gent.
308 Qis) Ke. a honur) eus e lonur.	323 Que au) Cil al. dorroie) dureit.
309 Mes il uoleit meuz souffrir guere.	324 troueroie) trouverait.
310 Qil ne soit dessaisi) Ke dessaisi estre	

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

326 "A Cuaran la voil doner,
 327 "Celui quest en ma cuisine ;
 328 "De chauderes serra reyne.
 329 "Quant li baron repaireront,
 330 "Et la requeste me feront,
 331 "Oianz touz lur voil mustrer
 332 "Que a mon quistron la voil doner,
 333 "Qui fort est et de grant vertu,
 334 "Ceo sieuent cil qi lont veu.
 335 "Sil ni ad qui le contredie,
 336 "Ne qi le mattourt a vileinie,
 337 "Dedenz ma prison le mettrai,
 338 "Et au quistron cele dorrai."
 339 ENSI ad li rois diuise.
 340 Au ior qil out a ceus nome,
 341 Apparaila de ses priuez
 342 En sa chambre vii. vinz armez ;³³
 343 Car il quidoit auer mellee,
 344 La ou ele serroit esposee.
 345 A la curt vindrent li baron ;
 346 Li rois lur mustra sa raison ;
 347 "Seignurs," fet il, "or mescotez,
 348 "Puis qe ci estes assemblez ;
 349 "Vne requeste me feistes
 350 "Lautrer, quant a moi venistes,
 351 "Qa ma niece seignur donasse
 352 "Et sa terre li otriasse.
 353 "Vus sauez bien, et ieo le vus di,
 354 "Quant Ekenbright le roi fini,
 355 "En ma garde sa fille mist,
 356 "Vn serement iurer me fist
 357 "Qau plus fort home la dorroie
 358 "Qe el reaume trouer porroie.
 359 "Assez ai quis et demande,
 360 "Tant qen ai vn fort troue.

Variants of Ms. P

326-332 omitted.	349 requeste) queste. feistes) faites.
335 Sil ni ad) Se nul ia.	350 Lautrer) Lautre ior.
337 Dedenz) en. le) la.	351 donasse) donace.
338 cele) la.	352 otriasse) comandasse.
339 Ensi) Eissi.	358 reaume) realme.
344 ele) celle. esposee) donee.	360 qen) ore en.
347 mescotez) escutez.	

³³ The author of *F* evidently tries to defend his barons by showing the impossibility of any resistance because of Alsî's precautions.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

361 "*Vn valet ai en ma quisine*
 362 "*A qui ieo dorrai la meschine.*
 363 "*Cuaran ad cil a non.*
 364 "*Li dis plus fort de ma maison*
 365 "*Ne se poent a lui tenir,*
 366 "*Son giu ne sa liute souffrir.*
 367 "*Veritez est, desqa Rome*
 368 "*De corsage nad si grant home.*
 369 "*Li garder voil mon serement,*
 370 "*Ne la pus doner autrement."*
 371 QUANT LI baron ont escute
 372 Qu'il out dite sa volente,
 373 Entre eus dient en apert
 374 Qe ceo nert ia par eus suffert.
 375 Ia ieust granz coups donez,
 376 Quant il fet venir les armez.
 377 Sa niece lur fet amener,³⁴
 378 Et a Cuaran esposer ;

379 *Pur lui auiler et bonir*
 380 *La fist la nuit lez lui gisir.*

381 Quant couche furent ambedui,
 382 Cele out grant honte de lui,
 383 Et il assez greindre de li ;
 384 *As denz se geut, si se dormi ;*
 385 Ne voloit pas qele veist
 386 La flambe qe de lui issist ;

GAIMAR

174 Honist sa nece, a son espoir,
 175 *E la dona a son quistrun,*
 175 *Ki Cuheran aveit a nun.*

100 Sa nece mesmariat.
 101 Il la donat a un garcon,
 102 Ki Cuheran aveit a nun :
 103 *Pur co kabeisser la voleit.*
 167 *Pur la terre Albrict tolir,*
 168 *Feseit sa nece od lui gisir.*
 177 Cil ne saveit ke femme estait,
 178 Ne kil fere li deveit :
 179 Treskil unkes el lit veneit,
 180 *Adenz giseit, si se dormeit.*
 181 Argentille ert en grant purpens ;
 182 Pur quei il giseit si a denz ;
 183 E mult forment sesmerveillout,
 184 Ke unkes vers lui ne se turnout,
 185 Ne ne la voleit aprismer,
 186 *Com bome deit fere sa muller.*

Variants of Ms. P

365 poent) poeient.	376 fet venir) demande. les) ses.
367 desqa) deci ka.	377 lur) omitted.
368 grant) fort.	380 La fist) Lad fet.
369 Li) Si.	381 ambedui) amdui.
372 volente) uolunte.	383 greindre) greinur.
374 ceo) omitted.	384 As denz) En peis. si se) e si.
375 coups) copz.	386 La flambe qe) ke la flambe.

³⁴ This passage contains the general details of Gaimar's description. As it is a good example of the different manner in which the two authors use their material, nearly all of the passage of G is given, even where it differs from F. Occasionally there is remarkable similarity in the words used in the two passages.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 387 Mes puis sasseurerent tant,
 388 Et par parole et par semblant,
 389 Qu'il lama et od lui geut
 390 Come od sespouse fere deut.
 391 La nuit qe primes en parla,
 392 Tiele ioie en out qil lama,
 P sen
 393 Qu'il se dormit et oblia ;
 394 Enuers se geut, ne se garda ;
 395 Et la meschine sendormi,
 396 Son braz getta sus son ami.
 397 Iceo li auint en auision
 P od
 398 Qele ert alee a son baron³⁵
 399 Outre la mier en vn boschage.
 400 La troeuent vn urs sauage ;
 401 Goupilz auoit en sa compaignie,
 402 Tut fut couerte la champaigne ;
 403 Cuaran voleient assaillir,
 404 Quant dautre part virent venir
 P porz
 405 Chiens et senglers qui le defen-
 doient,
 406 Et des goupilz mult occioient.

GAIMAR

- 187 La nece al rei se compleigneit ;
 188 Sovent son uncle maldissoit,
 191 Tant kil avint a une nut,
 192 Kil firent primes lur deduit.
 193 Apres ico si sendormirent :
 194 Mult sentreamerent, e joirent.
 195 La fille al rei, en son dormant,
 196 Songat kele ert, od Cuherant,
 197 Entre la mer e un boschage,
 198 U conversout un urs salvage.
 203 Od lurs aveit asez gopillz,
 204 Ki puis le jur ourent perilz :
 D Cuaran
 202 Ki³⁶ (lurs) voleit Cuberan manger.
 199 Devers la mer veait venir
 200 Pors e senglers, prist asaillir
 201 Icel grant urs, ke si ert fier,
 202 Ki voleit Cuheran manger.
 206 Mult en³⁷ (goupilz) destruistrent,
 e oscistrent.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 387 tant) i tant. | 398 a) "a" in the text, but corrected
to "od" in the margin of P. |
| 388 par, par) de, de. | 399 vn) omitted. |
| 389 geut) iust. | 400 troeuent) trouerent. |
| 390 Cum il od sun espuse dust. | 402 Tut) Tote. |
| 391 en) i. | 403 voleient) uoilent. |
| 392 Tiele) Tel. qil) e tant. | 405 Chiens) porz. defendoient) de-
fenderent. |
| 393 se) sen. | 406 mult occioient) le guaranterent. |
| 394 se garda) senturna. | |
| 396 getta) ieta. sus) sur. | |
-

³⁵ These passages of *G* and *F* are noteworthy for the identical expression of whole lines.

³⁶ *Ki* (202) of *G* refers to the bear.

³⁷ *En* (206) of *G* refers to the foxes.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

P vencuz,

- 407 *Quant li goupil furent venu,*
 408 *Vn des senglers par grant vertu*
 409 *Ala vers lours, si lenuait,*

410 *Iloeqes loccit et abatit.*411 *Li goupil qi od li se tindrent,*412 *Vers Coaran ensemble vindrent,*413 *Deuant li se mistrent a terre,*414 *Semblant firent de merci querre;*415 *Et Coaran les fist lier,³⁸*416 *Puis vout a la mier repairer.*417 *Mes li arbre qi el bois erent*418 *De totes parz li enclinerent;*419 *La mier crut et flot monta*420 *De si qa lui; grant pouour a.*421 *Deus leons vist de grant fierte;*422 *Vers lui vindrent tut effree,*423 *Les bestes del bois deuoroient*424 *Celes qen lur voies trouoient.*425 *Coaran fut en grant effrei,*426 *Plus pur samie qe pur sei;*427 *Sur vne balte arbre monterent,*428 *Pur les leons qil doterent;*429 *Mes li leon auant aloient,*430 *Desouz larbre s'agenuilloient,*

GAIMAR

207 *Quant li gopil furent destruit,*209 *Un sul sengler, fier e bardi,*210 *Lad par son cors sul asailli.*208 *Cel urs, ke demenout tel bruit,*211 *Tel lui dona del une dent,*212 *En dous meitez le quer li fent.*213 *Quant lurs se sent a mort feru,*214 *Un cri geta, puis est chau:*215 *E li gopil vindrent corant,**D L* Cuarant216 *De tutes parz, vers Cuherant,*217 *Entre lur quisses lur cuetes,*218 *Les chefs enclins, agenuletes;*219 *E sunt semblant de merci quere.**D L* lier221 *Quant il les out fait tuz lever,*222 *Envers la mer volt repairer.*223 *Li grant arbre, ki el bois erent,*224 *De totes parz lenclinerent.*225 *La mer montout e li floz vint,*226 *De si kal bois ne se tint.*227 *Li bois ai chaeit, la mer veneit,**D L* Cuaran228 *Cuheran ert en grant destreit.*229 *Apres veneient dous leons:*230 *Si chaeient a genullons.*231 *Mes des bestes mult oscieient*232 *El bois, ki en lur veie estaient.*233 *Cuheran, pur pour kil out,**D L* un grant234 *Sur un des granz arbres montout:*235 *E les leons vindrent avant,**D L* larbre236 *Envers cel arbre, agenullant.**Variants of Ms. P*407 *venu) vencuz.*408 *vertu) vertuz.*409 *Vers lui ala si len wai.*410 *Mes Cuarant locist e uenqui.*420 *Di co ele grant pour a.*421 *Kar dous liuns vit par grant ferte.*426 *Plus) Tant. qe) cum.*427 *monterent) andui munterent.*428 *doterent) duterent.*429 *aloient) alouent.*430 *s'agenuilloient) s'agenulouent.*

³⁸ *Lier* (415) of *F* is found in Mss. *D* and *L* of *G*. Ms. *P* shows by 393, 398, 405, 407 that the passage was originally much closer to *G* than it is in Ms. *H*.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 431 Semblant li firent damour,
 432 Et quil le tenoient a seignur.
 433 *Par tut le bois out si grant cri*
 434 *Qe Argentille sen esperi.*
 435 Mult out del sunge grant poour;
 436 Puis out greindre de son seignur
 437 *Pur la flambe qele choisit*
 438 *Qe de la bouche li issit.*
 439 En sus se trest, et si cria
 440 *Si durement qe le esueilla:*
 441 "*Sire,*" fet ele, "*vus ardez.*"
 442 "*Lasse! tut estes allumez.*"

P trait

- 443 *Cil le braca et estreinst vers soi;*³⁹
 444 "*Bele amie,*" fet il, "*pur quoi*
 445 "*Estes vus issi effree?*"
 446 "*Qui vus ad issi espoentee?*"
 447 "*Sire,*" fet ele, "*ieo sungai;*"
 448 "*Lauision vus conterai.*"
 449 *Conte li ad et coneu,*
 450 *Del feu li dist qele ad veu*
 451 *Qui de sa bouche venoit fors.*
 452 Ele quidoit qe tut son cors
 453 Fust allume, pur ceo cria.

GAIMAR

- 237 *Par tut le bois out si grant cri,*
D L esperi
 238 *Ke la dame sen eveilli:*
 243 *Pur la pour ses oilz overit,*
 244 *Une flambe vit, ki issit*
 245 *Fors de la buche son marri.*
 250 Ore entendez kele dit.
 255 Tant l'embrasca e trest vers sei,
 256 Kil sesveilla
 251 "*Sire,*" fet ele, "*vus ardez:*"
 252 "*Esveillez vus si vus volez.*"
 "De vostre buche une flambe ist;

- 255 *Tant l'embrasca e trest vers sei,*
 256 *Kil sesveilla, e dist: "Pur quei,*
 257 *"Pur quei mavez eveille bele amie:*
 258 *"Pur quei estes espointie?"*
 259 Tant la preia, e tant la blandist,
 260 *Kele li conta tut, et regebit*
 261 *De la flambe, e del avision*
 262 *Kele out veu de son baron.*

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 431 firent) feseient. | 442 Alas ia tut estez alumez. |
| 432 quil) ke. | 443 estreinst) trait. |
| 434 sen esperi) sessperi. | 445 issi) si. |
| 435 Del sunge ot grant pour. | 446 espoentee) espunte. |
| 436 greindre) plus. | 448 Lauision) ma uision. |
| 438 li) sun seignur. | 450 Tel fu li dit kele out veue. |
| 439 trest) traist. | 453 allume) en lumme. |
| 440 le esueilla) sesueilla. | |

³⁹ These descriptions are almost word for word the same, and the few touches that have made *F* vary in an occasional detail are very evidently the author's own: cf. 426. Cuaran is not cowardly; his fear is more for Argentille; lines 431-432 only elaborate the statement of 430; in 443, instead of Cuaran's being awakened by Argentille's embraces, the author of *F* represents him as startled by her cry of fright, whereupon he embraces and soothes her; lines 452-453 explain Argentille's cry of fright. Cf. 454 of *F*, *reconforta*, with Gaimar's *respondi*; cf. 259 of *G* with 447-448 of *F* in which Argentille begins to tell her dream without being urged.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 454 *Cuaran la reconforta.*
P "Dame"
 455 "*Bele,*" *fet il, "ne dotez rien;*
 456 "*Cest bon au vostre vs et au mien.*
 457 "*La vision qe auez veue*
 458 "*Demain poet estre conue.*
 459 "*Li rois doit sa feste tenir,*
 460 "*Touz ses barons i fet venir.*
 461 "*Veneison i avera assez;*
P des granz lardez
 462 "*Leo dorrai bastes et lardez*
 463 "*As esquiers a grant plente,*
 464 "*Et as valez qui mont ame.*
 465 "*Li esquier sont li goupil,*
 466 "*Et li garcon qi sont plus vil ;*⁴⁰
 467 "*Et li ours fut des bier occis,*
 468 "*Et en nostre quisine mis.*⁴¹
 469 "*Deus tors fist bui le roi beiter,*
 470 "*Pur les leons les pus conter ;*
 471 "*Les ploms poom mettre pur mier*
 472 "*Dont le feu fet lewe monter.*
 473 "*Dite vus ai lausion;*
 474 "*Ne soiez mes en suspecion.*
 475 "*Le feu qi ma bouche getta,*⁴²
 476 "*Bien vus dirrai qui ceo serra ;*⁴³
 477 "*Nostre quisine ardera, ceo crei ;*

GAIMAR

- 263 *Cuheran len respondi :*
 267 "*Dame,*" *dist il, "co serra bien,*
 268 "*Anbure a vostre oes, e al mien.*
 270 "*Li reis tendra demain sa feste ;*
 271 "*Mult i avera de ses barons.*
 272 "*Cerfs, e cbeverels, e veneisons,*
 277 "*Des bons lardez e de brauns,*
 276 "*Les esquiers ferai manant*
 279 "*Li esquier me sunt acin,*
 281 "*Cil signefient li gopil*
 283 "*E lurs est mort, bier fu oscis ;*
 285 "*Dous tors i ad pur les leons ;*
 286 "*E pur la mer, pernum les pluins,*
 287 "*U lewe monte come mer,*
 290 "*Dame, la vision est dite."*
 292 "*Uncore avant me dites, sire,*
 293 "*Quei icel fu put espeleir,*
 294 "*Ken vostre buche vi ardeir ?"*
 295 "*Dame,*" *dist il, "ne sai ke dait :*
 296 "*Mes en dormant si me deceit."*

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 454 reconforta) conforta. | 467 hier) er. |
| 455 Bele) Dame. | 469 fist) fit. hui) omitted. |
| 456 al, al) au, au. vs) oes. | 471 ploms) plums. mier) mer. |
| 462 hastes et) des granz. | 474 soiez) seez. |
| 464 qui mont) que mult. | |

⁴⁰ This line is perhaps added for the sake of the rhyme. Gaimar has : *Dunt vus songastes ; co sunt il :* possibly for the same reason.

⁴¹ Line 468 of *F* is probably the invention of the author, since *G* has *En un bois fu salvage pris.*

⁴² The latter part of the description varies a little. The author of *F* omits here, as elsewhere, the urging on the part of the hearer with which Gaimar introduces information. Cf. 292-294 of *G*. Then, before following in general the reply found in Gaimar about the flame, the author of *F* adds Havelok's allegorical interpretation of the fire to complete his natural explanation of the dream.

⁴³ From 475 to 538 *F* again differs entirely from *G*. This passage is generally attributed to the author of *F*, who in this way avoids, in some degree, the abruptness of the question as to Havelok's home and parentage found in *G*.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

478 "Si en ert en peine et en effrei
 479 "De porter fors nos chaudrons
 480 "Et nos pieles et nos ploms;
 481 "Et nepuroec ne quier mentir,
 482 "De ma bouche soelt feu issir
 483 "Quant ieo me dorm, ne sai pur-
 quei;
 484 "Issi mauient, ceo peise mei."

297 "Treske jo dorm, ma buche esprent,

298 "De la flambe nient ne me sent.

300 "Ke co mavient en dormant."

299 Veires jo en ai hunte mult grant.

485 DEL SOUNGE lessent atant,
 486 Puis se endorment li enfant;
 487 Mes lendemain la matinee,
 488 Quant Argentille fut leuee,
 489 Vn chamberlenc qui fut od li,
 490 Qui son pierre auoit nurri,
 491 La vision dist et conta;
 492 Icil a bien la tourna,
 493 Puis li ad dit, "En Lindesie
 494 "Estoit vns homs de seinte vie;
 495 "Heremite fut, en bois manoit.
 496 "Sa lui parlast, il lui dirroit
 497 "Del souenge, quei ceo porroit
 estre;
 498 "Car Dieu lamoit, si ert prestre."
 499 "Amis," fet ele, "mult te croi.
 500 "Pur amour Dieu! vien od moi.
 501 "A cel heremite voil parler,
 502 "Si tu i voels od moi aler."
 503 Cil li otrie bonement
 504 Que od lui irra priueement.
 505 Vne chape li affubla,
 506 Al heremitage la mena,
 507 Al seint home la fist parler,
 508 Et son corage tut mustrer
 509 Del songe dont ele out poour,

Variants of Ms. P

478 E io serrai en effrei.
 479 fors) hors.
 481 Et) mes. quier) quer.
 482 soelt) soleit.
 483 me) men.
 485 atant) aitant.
 486 se endorment) sen dormirent.
 487 lendemain) el demein. matinee)
 matine.
 489 qui) omitted. fut) fui.
 490 Ke li Reis sun pierre norri.

491 La) Sa.
 492 la) li.
 493 Pus li cunta quen Lindesie.
 494 Estoit) Dut. seinte) hone.
 495 Heremite) Hermites.
 497 quei) que. porroit) put.
 498 Dieu) Deus. ert) fu.
 500 vien) ven.
 502 tu i voels) uoleies.
 508 E sauenture recunter.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 510 Et de la bouche son seignour
 511 Dont ele auoit le feu veu,
 512 Mes ne sauoit qui ceo fu.
 513 Par charite li quiert et prie
 514 Qil la conseilte, si len die
 515 Son aus et sa volente.
 516 Li heremites ad suspire,
 517 A Dieu comence soreison,
 518 Puis li dist de lausion :
 519 "Bele," fet il, "ceo qe sunge as
 520 "De ton baron, tu le verras.
 521 "Il est ne de real lignage,
 522 "Oncore auctra grant heritage,
 523 "Grant gent fra vers li encline,
 524 "Il serra roi et tu reyne.
 525 "Demande li q' fut son pere,
 526 "Et sil ad sorour ne frere ;
 527 "Puis si meint en lur contree ;
 528 "Iloec orras la destinee
 529 "Dont ert nez et dont il est.
 530 "Et Dieu del ciel vertu te prest,
 531 "Et te dunt tieu chose oir,
 532 "Que te pusse a bien reuertir !"
 533 Argentille conge demande,
 534 Et li seinz homs a Dieu la comande.
 535 Ele senuet a son seignur,
 536 Priueement et par amur
 537 Le demande ou il ert nez,
 538 Et ou estoit sis parentez.
 539 "Dame," fet il, "a Grimesby ;
 540 "La les lessai quant ieo vinc ci."
 541 "Grim le peschere est mon pere ;⁴⁵
- 306 "Amis, u est li ton linage ?"
 307 "Dame," fet il, "a Grimesby :
 308 "Diloe turnai quant jo vinc ci,
 365 "ci laissai
 366 "Mun parente quant men turnai.
 369 "Grim fud mis pere, un peschur,

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 514 si len) e si li. | 529 Dunt il fu nez e quil est. |
| 519 sunge as) sungat. | 530 te) vus. |
| 520 baron) marri. tu) tut. | 531 tieu) tel. |
| 523 fra) ferra. encline) acline. | 537 ou) dunt. |
| 525 son pere) ces peres. | 540 ci) issi. |
| 527 Puis si) E kil te. | 541 mon pere) mes pere. |

⁴⁴ Lines 538–556 of *F* represent Gaimar's details again, and very closely follow the wording of his text.

⁴⁵ The difference in tense in 541–542 of *F* and 369–370 of *G* is noteworthy; the lines are in other respects very similar, though in *G* Havelok uses them in speaking to Kelloc.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 542 "Saburc ad non; ceo quid, ma mere.
P Amis
543 "Sire," fet ele, "aloms querre,
544 "Si deliuerom au roi sa terre"⁴⁶
545 "Dont il mad exille a tort,
546 "Et vus et moi, sil si demoert;
547 "Mieuz voil aillors estre mendiue,

548 "Qe entre les miens estre
cheitiue."
549 Coaran li ad respondu,
550 "Dame, tost i serroms venu;

551 "Volenters vus merrai od moi.

552 "Alom prendre conge au roi."
553 Si firent il par matin,

554 Puis se mistrent au chemin;
555 Les ii. fiz Grim amenerent,
556 A Grimesby sen alerent.
557 Mes li prodoms estoit finiz⁴⁸
558 E la dame qis out nurriz.
559 Kelloc sa fille iont trouee;
560 Vn marchant lout esposee.
561 Il saluerent le seignur,
562 Si parlerent a lur sorour.
563 Il li demandent de lur piere,
564 Coment le fesoit lur miere.
565 Ele lur ad dit qe mort estoient,

GAIMAR

- 370 "Ma mere ot nun Sebrug, sa uxor.
311 "Amis," feit ele, "car i alom.

303 "Mielz nus vendreit estre exillez
304 "Entre aliens, e enpairez,
305 "Ke ci gisir en tel hontage.
D L Cuaran
315 Dist Cuaran:
316 "U seit saver, u seit folie,
317 "Jo ferai co ke vus volez."⁴⁷
318 "La vus merrai si vus me loez."
D L querre
321 Al rei vindrent, querent conge.
319 La nut jurent, treskal cler jur:
320 Lendemain vont a lur seignur.

- 334 Cuaran e les dous fiz Grims;
329 Ore sen vunt cil a Grimesbi;

- 332 La fille Grim celui aveit.⁴⁹

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 542 Saburc) Sebur. ceo quid) co ki. | 555 amenerent) od eus menerent. |
| 543 Sire) Amis. querre) les quere. | 556 sen) tut dreit. |
| 546 E vus e mei het il amort. | 563 Li) omitted. |
| 552 au roi) al rei. | 565 Ele . . . dit) E e lur dient. |
| 553 par) ben par. | mort) morz. |
-

⁴⁶ A slight variation in the description is the mention of the giving up of the kingdom to Alsì. The fact is the same in *G*, but it is not commented upon.

⁴⁷ Havelok yields to Argentille without showing the hesitation noted by *G* (317). The author of *F* omits mention of Edelsi's jests, but in another part he notes jests of the king not mentioned in *G*.

⁴⁸ Mes li prodoms estoit finiz. This is a point of divergence between *F* and *G* which has caused much comment. In *G* Grim and Seburc had died before Havelok left. In *F* he learned of their death from Kelloc.

⁴⁹ Celui refers to Alger, the *bon ami* of 330.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

566 Et li entrant grant doel fesoient.
 567 Kelloc appella Coarant,
 568 Si li demanda en riant,
 569 "Amis," fet il, "par ta foi!
 570 "Ceste femme quest od toi,
 571 "Qui est ele? mult par est bele.
 572 "Est ele dame ou damoisele?"
 573 "Dame," fet il, "rois Alsi,
 574 "*Que ai lungement ai serui,*
 575 "*La me dona des lautre ior.*
 576 "Sa niece est, fille de sa sorour,
 577 "Fille est au roi de grant parage;
 578 "Mes il a tout son heritage."
 579 Kelloc oit qe cil li dist,
 580 Merueillouse pite li prist,⁵¹
 581 De ceo qe fiz a roi estoit,
 582 Et de la femme qil auoit.
 583 *Haveloc auant appella,*
 584 Et a consail li demanda
 585 Qui fiz il ert, sil le sauoit,
 586 Si son parente conoissoit.
 587 *Il li respont: "Grim fut mon pere,*
 588 "*Tu es ma soer, cist sont mi frere*
 589 "*Qui sont ci od moi venu;*
 590 "*Bien sai qe nostre soer es tu."*⁵²
 591 Kelloc li dist, "*Nest pas issi.*
 592 "*Bien te cieie, si ieo le te di.*"⁵³

335 E il (Alger) sot⁵⁰ de la fille al rei.

592 *Un rei servi u jo alai;*
 596 E ceste dame iert sa parente.
 597 *Si cum lui plut la me donad.*

359 *A tant apelent Haveloc;*
 360 E Argentille vint avoc.
 363 "Amis," funt il, "dunt es tu nez:
 364 "En quel liu est tis parentez?"
 369 "*Grim fud mis pere, un pescbur,*
 372 "*Mes dous freres od mei menai.*
 373 "*Ore eimes granz, revenuz sumes,*
 376 "*Bien sai tu es nostre sorur."*
 377 *Respont Kelloc: "Tut i ad el:*
 399 "*Mes celez ben vostre segrei:*

Variants of Ms. P

566 entrant) enfant. doel) dul.
 570 quest) que uait.
 573 Alsi) Edelsi.
 576 de) omitted.
 578 il a) illi.
 580 Merueillouse) Merueile.
 583 Haveloc) sun seignur.

584 Et a) par sun.
 585 ert) fu.
 586 conoissoit) conusseit.
 587 mon) mi.
 588 soer) sorur.
 592 Ben le seil sil iolte di.

⁵⁰ G does not give details of Havelok's story as told to Argentille, though we know from 335 that Havelok made the explanation. An account similar to that of 569-578 of *F* is found in *G*, 592-598, where Havelok gives the same information to Sygar less explicitly.

⁵¹ Only the author of *F* comments on Kelloc's feeling of pity for Havelok. He omits the controversy of *G* in which Kelloc and her husband decide to tell Havelok of his rank.

⁵² In *F* Havelok's speech is shorter than in *G* and he does not mention Seburg.

⁵³ Kelloc cautions Havelok not to tell his secret, just as she does in *G*.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 593 "Fai ta femme auant venir; ⁵⁴
 594 "Et toi et lui ferai ioir
 595 "Qui fiz tu es, ieo le te dirrai,⁵⁵
 596 "La verite ten conterai.
 597 "Ton piere fut Gunter li rois,⁵⁶
 598 "Qui sire fut sur les Danois;
 599 "Hodulf loccist par traison,
 600 "Qui tuz iors out le queor felon.
 P Odolf
 601 "Li rois Arthur Hodulf feffa
 602 "Et Danemarche li dona.
 P nostre
 603 "Grim vostre piere senfuit,
 604 "Pur toi garrir terre guerpit.
 605 "Ta miere fut en mier perie;
 606 "Car nostre nief fut assaillie
 P encontrerent
 607 "De outlagbes, qi nus saisirent.
 P tuerent
 608 "Li plus de nostre gent i perirent.
 609 "Nous *eschapames* de la mort,⁵⁷

GAIMAR

- 360 (E Argentille vint avoc.)
 400 "*Vus fustes fiz a un bon rei.*
 403 "*Li vostre pere out nun Gunter;*
 401 "*Danemarche out par heritage.*
 523 Cist reis (Odulf) ki donc ert el
 pais.
 417 "Ki Artur volt, dona le terre.
 423 "Mis pere aveit mult bon nef;
 424 "La raine amenout suef:
 428 "En mer furent trestuz ruez
 430 "E la raine ensement.
 583 *De utblages sumes asailliz,*
 428 "En mer furent trestuz ruez
 429 "Nos chevalers, e nostre gent.
 586 Jo guari, ne sai en quele guise;
 587 E li prodrom en *eschapa*.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 593 Ore fai ta feme sauenir. | 600 Quant sur li uindrent li Bretun. |
| 595 le) omitted. | 601 feffa) ama. |
| 596 ten) vus. | 603 vostre) nostre. |
| 597 Tes peres fu Gunters li reis. | 606 nief) nef. |
| 598 sire) sires. | 607 saisirent) encontrerent. |
| 599 Hodulf) Odolf. | 608 i perirent) tuerent. |

⁵⁴ 593 takes the place of 360 of G, which introduced Argentille earlier.

⁵⁵ Kelloc's speech in *F* is better ordered than in G. She tells Havelok's origin and early history first and then of her plan for him. In G she tells that Grim is not his father, and after saying that a ship has just arrived from Denmark and advising him to return with it, she tells him his story.

⁵⁶ The close similarity of these two passages is to be noted.

⁵⁷ This account of the pirates' attack is found twice in G and three times in *F*. The first description of it in the latter poem is more detailed (106-120), and corresponds to G (425-433) where Kelloc states the same facts briefly. 606 and 609 of *F* echo 583 and 587 of Havelok's speech to Sygar in G. It is also interesting to note that 609 of *F* repeats in the first person 121 of the same poem, and that 613 and 614 repeat exactly 140 and 136.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 610 "Ci *ariuames* a cest port.
 611 "Ne vout mon piere auant aler,
 612 "Ici li estoet demorer.
 613 "Sus cest hauene se herberga,
 614 "Sile vendit et achata,
 615 "Mult se pena de toi nurrir
 616 "Et de celer et de couerir,
 617 "Poucrement estoit vestuz,
 618 "Qe ne fussez aparceu.
 619 "Nout si hardi en sa maison
 620 "Qui osast dire ton droit non;
 621 "Haueloc auez a non, amis.⁵⁸

P El pais

- 622 "Si aler voillez en vostre pais,

 623 "Mon seignur vus i conduiera,⁵⁹
 624 "Dedenz sa nef vus passera.
 625 "*Lautrer en vint*, nad mie vn
 mois;
 626 "Assez oit qe li Danois
 627 "Vus voudroient entre eustenir;⁶⁰

 628 "Car mult se fet li rois hair.

 629 "*Vn prodome ad en la terre*
 630 "Qui touz iors ad vers li guerre;

GAIMAR

- 437 "En cest pais quant *arivames*.

 380 "Grim vendi sel, si fu peschere.

 421 "Co estes vus, si cum jo crei
 422 "Danz Haveloc, le fiz le rei.

 388 "Si vus volez od els aler,
 389 "Jo quid kil irrunt el pais
 390 "U sunt vos parenz, e vos amis.

 459 "En Danemarche *fud le autreer*,

 460 "E a plusurs oid preier,
 461 "Sil vus trovast ke venissiez.
 462 "E le pais chalengissez.
 527 Il out a nun Odulf le reis;
 528 Mult fud haiz de ses Daneis.
 505 *Iloc maneit uns riches bom*,

 624 Dras e uiande vus dora.
 625 mie) pas.
 627 Vus) Te.
 629 prodome) riche home.
 630 Vers ki li reis ad tuz iorz guere.

Variants of Ms. P

- 611-620 Vostre dreit nun nus chang-
 ames) E Cuarant vus appellames.
 621 auez) ad.
 622 Se aler volez el pais.
 623 Mon seignur) mis sires.

⁵⁸ This point was insisted upon by the author (147-148). The additional detail of 617-618, that Havelok was poorly clad in order not to attract attention, belongs wholly to *F*.

⁵⁹ Some details of the advice about the return to Denmark vary in *F*. 623-624 show that Kelloc's husband himself is to escort them. In *G* (383 ff.) we find: Hier arivat leus al port, Un grant kenart, e bon e fort, Pain e char menied, e vin e ble; Di cel unt il mult grant plente. Ulte la mer volent passer. Si vus volez od els aler, Jo quid kil irrunt el pais U sunt vos parenz, e vos amis. Si vus volez od els aler, Nus les vus purrum bien aluer. In 463 she advises him to take the two valets and promises that she and her husband will follow if he sends for them. The tone of *F* is more courtly in this passage.

⁶⁰ Here also the ideas are similar.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

P Estal

- 631 "*Sigar Lestal est appelez*,⁶¹
 632 "*A lui looms qe vus alez*;
 633 "*Il ad vne vostre parente*,
 634 "*Que pur vus est souent dolente*
 635 "*Qele ne poet nouele oir*.
 636 "*Car desqa eus porrez venir*,
 637 "*Oncore auerez vos heritez*;
 638 "*Ces ii. valez od vus merrez*."
 639 Argentille, quant ele loit,⁶²
 640 Mult durement sen esioit;
 641 A eus promet foi et amur;
 642 *Si Dieu* la mette a honur,
 643 Grant bien lur fera, ceo dit.
 644 Puis ni out gaires de respit;
 645 Lur nief tost apresterent,
 646 Vers Danemarche mer passerent.
 647 QUANT IL sont el pais venu,
 648 Et de la nief a terre issu,⁶³
 649 Li marchant qis amena⁶⁴

GAIMAR

D L Lestarle

- 506 Sigar Estalre aveit nun:
 468 "*Si Deu vus rent vos heritez*."
 398 "*Vos dous vallez od vus merrez*;
 472 *Si Deus* nus rent nos heritez:
 470 "*Nus vus rendrum mult bon luer*;
 496 Ken Denemarche sunt arive.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 631 Lestal) Estal. | 641 A eus) Assez. |
| 632 looms) loum. | 642 la mette a) les met a nul. |
| 633 vostre) tue. | 643 mult lur fra grant ben co dit. |
| 634 pur vus) pur tei. | 644 ni out) iout. |
| 636 Car) Si. porrez) poez. | 645 Lur nef e lur eire aturnerent. |
| 637 vos) vostre. | 647 el pais) a la terre. |
| 638 merrez) menez. | 648 a terre) omitted. |

⁶¹ In *G* no mention of Sygar is made to Havelok before he lands in Denmark. In *F* he is described in 43-46, and then again in 628-637. The description, however, does not differ in fact from that given in *G* later, although 630, 632-636 belong only to the author of *F*.

⁶² Two lines in *F* are devoted to Argentille's joy. Gaimar gives a description of the ship, provisions, the clothes given Havelok and his wife, and the journey.

⁶³ This seems to be a favorite phrase. Cf. 123-124.

⁶⁴ The merchant's part in *F* seems to be a combination of that of Alger and the merchant of *G*. Kelloc told Havelok that her husband (the merchant of 560) would accompany him to Denmark. Her husband has no name in *F*. In Denmark the merchant of *F*, while fulfilling the part of Gaimar's merchant, still has traits of Alger. He provides Havelok with clothes, a thing which Alger and Kelloc had done in *G*. He gives them minute instructions, telling them to go and eat at Sygar's table. *G* has only an obscure reference to a meal at Sygar's later in the poem. In *F* the scene (670-682) is foreshadowed in the directions of the merchant. This entire speech takes the place of geographical and historical information about Denmark and Hodulf in *G*, a part of which had already been given in *F* (625-631).

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

650 De bons draz les atourna,
 651 Puis lur enseigne qil feront
 652 *Et a quiele ville il turneront,*
 653 A la cite cel *seneschal*,
 654 *Que lom appelle Sigar Lestal*
 655 "Haueloc," fet il, "beaus amis,
 656 "Quant tu vendras a son pais,
 657 "En son chastel va herberger,
 658 "Et a sa table va manger,
 659 "Par charite quier le conrei;
 660 "Ta femme meineensemble od tei,
 661 "Assez tost te demanderont,
 662 "Par la beaute qen lui verront,
 663 "Qui tu es, et de quiele contree,
 664 "Et qi tiele femme tad donee."
 665 Il senpartent del marchant,
 666 Si tienent lur chemin auant.
 667 Tant ont trauaille et erre,
 668 Quil paruiennent a la cite
 669 *La ou le seneschal manoit*;
 670 Au chastel alerent tut droit;
 671 Le riche home en la curt trouerent,
 672 Par charite li demanderent
 673 Le conroi qil lur otriast,
 674 Et qanuit les herbergast.
 675 Li senescaus le lur granta;
 676 Dedenz la sale les mena.
 677 Quant fut heure del manger,
 678 Et qe tuz alerent lauer,
 679 Li prodoms a manger sasaist,
 680 Les iii. valez seoir i fist,⁶⁵

498 *A une vile sen alerent*
 505 *Iloc maneit uns riches hom,*
 507 *Seneschal fu al rei Gunter,*
D L Lestarle
 506 *Sigar Estalre aveit nun:*

501 Les marchanz sunt tuz remes,
 502 Od lur herneis, es dous nefis,

498 *A une vile sen alerent.*
 505 *Iloc maneit uns riches bom,*
 507 *Seneschal fu al rei Gunter.*

Variants of Ms. P

650 bons) nouveaux.
 651 enseigne) enseigna.
 653 cite) curt. del) al.
 654 Que lom) Kem.
 656 a) en.
 657 En) A.
 659 quier) quer.
 661-662 Transposed in *P*.
 668 paruiennent) par uindrent.

671 riche home) seignur. la) sa.
 674 qanuit) ke la nuit.
 675 senescaus) seneschal. le) omitted.
 granta) otteia.
 676 Dedenz) En. mena) enueia.
 677 Tant ke ore fu de digner.
 679 prodoms a) sire a sun.
 680 seoir fist) asser fit.

⁶⁵ This scene belongs to *F* only, but the facts on which it is based may be gathered from Gaimar's description of the attack. In 531 he says the six valets

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

681 Argentille lez son seignur ;
 682 Serui furent a grant honur.
 683 Li bacheler et li esquier
 684 Qui seruient au manger
 685 La bele dame ont esgardee
 686 Et sa beaute forment loee.
 687 En vne part se turnent sis ;
 688 Ensemble ont lur consail pris
 689 Qau valet sa femme toudront ;
 690 Sil sencoruce, si le bateront.
 691 QUANT IL leuerent del manger,
 692 Li valez se vont herberger.
 693 Li senescaus les fet mener
 694 A vn ostel pur reposer.
 695 Cil qui la dame ont coueitee,
 696 Qui mult ert bele et enseignee,
 697 Apres eus vont en vne rue ;⁶⁶
 698 Au valet ont sa femme tolue ;
 699 Od eus leussent enmenee,
 700 Quant Haveloc ad recoueree
 701 Vne bache trenchante et dure,
 702 Ne sai par quele auenture
 703 Vn de ceus la tint et porta.⁶⁷
 704 Il li tolit, si sen ala,
 705 Les cink en ad tue et occis.⁶⁸

533 Sis bachelers donc lasaillirent,
 531 Pur sa moiller, ke trop ert bele.
 541 Cels ad ataint en la ruele.
 534 Pristent la dame, lui ferirent ;
 537 Si cum il sen unt od samie,
 538 Danz Havelocs en out envie :
 539 Prent une bache mult trenchant,
 540 Ken une meison trova pendant ;
 543 Treis en oscist, dous en tua,

Variants of Ms. P

684 au) a icel.
 685 bele dame) meschine. ont) vnt
 mult.
 686 loee) loe.
 687 En) A. se) omitted.
 689 femme) mie.
 690 sil le) cil.
 691 il leuerent) leue furent.
 692 valez) enfant. se vont) sen wnt.

693 senescaus) seneschals.
 699 enmenee) tute menee.
 700 quant) Mes.
 702 par quele) cum par fete.
 704-707 E il li tolli e sen uenga.
 Les sis ad mort e afolez,
 Li uns esteit eschapez,
 Le destre poing out coupe.

assailed Havelok : Pur sa moiller, ke trop ert bele ; and an obscure suggestion of a meal may be found in 669-671, where Sygar says to Havelok, Kore vus aim plus ke ne fis hier, Quant vus asis a mon manger.

⁶⁶ 541 of G refers to Havelok's pursuit of the valets, whereas 697 of F denotes their attack on Havelok. The phrases *en une rue* and *en la ruelle*, however, are the same. The description of the whole attack corresponds closely to G.

⁶⁷ Gaimar states that the *bache* was found hanging in a house ; the author of F that Havelok took it from an assailant.

⁶⁸ These two lines resemble each other strikingly. 706 prepares the way for 724.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 706 Li vns est eschapez vifs,
 707 *Mes qe le poign out coupe.*⁶⁹
 708 *Le cri lieue en la cite,*
 709 Cil senturnerent en fuiant,
 710 *A un moustier vindrent currant;*
 711 Pur garison i sont entre,
 712 *Les buis ont sus eus ferme.*
 713 *Haueloc monta en la tour,*⁷⁰
 714 Cil del burg lasseent entour;
 715 De totes parz lont assailli,
 P mult bien
 716 Et il bien se defendi;
 717 Desur le meur la pierre prent,⁷¹

 718 Aual la gette ignielement.
 719 La nouele vint au chastel
 720 Au seneschal, qui n'est pas bel,
 721 *Qe cil quil auoit herberge*
 722 *Cinc de ses homes out tue,*
 723 Et li sistes est afolez,
 724 Et il sen est eschapez;
 725 En la tour del moustier sest mis,
 726 Et li burgois lont assis.
 727 Mult par lassailent durement,
 728 Et il se defent asprement;
 729 Les quareus de la tour enrue;
 730 Mulz en mahaighe, plus en tue.
 731 Li senescaus cheual demande,
 732 A touz ses cheualers comande

GAIMAR

- 544 *E al siste le poing trencha;*
 546 *Es vus, le cri mult criminel,*
 547 *Prist ses vallez e sa moiller,*
 548 *Si sen entra en un mustier;*

 549 *Ferma les us, pur la pour,*
 550 *Puis monterent sus en le tur.*

 553 *Kar cil tres bien se defendirent;*
 556 (Dan Sygar) Veit cum les pieres
 vait ruant.

 554 Blescié i erent cels kis assailirent.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|---|---|
| 708 lieue) leua. | 721 is followed by — E a sa table aucit
mange. |
| 710 vindrent) venent. currant) cor-
ant. | 722 tue) tues. |
| 712 Pus unt lus clos e ferme. | 724 Omitted. |
| 714 burg) burc. lasseent) le seent. | 727 par) omitted. |
| 716 bien) mult ben. | 728 asprement) mult asprement. |
| 717 meur) mur. pierre) pere. | 729 quareus) karuels. en rue) lur rue. |
| 718 ignielement) uiuement. | 730 Mulz) Mut. mahaighe) maimé. |
| 719 au) al. | 731 senescaus) riches home. cheual)
cheuals. |

⁶⁹ After this, according to G, Havelok starts toward his *ostel* with his wife.

⁷⁰ In *F* the description is fuller than in G.

⁷¹ Gaimar suggests this act of rolling stones later in his brief line where he states that Sygar saw them falling as he rode up (556). In *F* the author describes the news brought to Sygar, and his departure, but he adds no new details.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 733 *Qe* od li augent a la meslee
 734 *Qe* en la cite est leuce.
 735 Tut primerain vet au moustier,
 736 Et vist celui *si bien* aider
 737 Quil les fet tuz trere arere,
 738 Chescun se doute qil nes fiere.
 739 Li senescaus ala auant ;
 740 *Vist Haueloc* et creu et grant,⁷²
 741 (Et a sa table auoit mange,⁷³
 742 Ensemble od lui out este),
 743 Gent cors et bele feture,
 744 Lungs braz et grant furcheure.
 745 Ententiuement lesgarda,
 746 *De son seigneur li remembra*,
 747 *Del roi Gunter*, qil tant ama ;
 748 Anguissousement suspira,
 749 *Cil le ressembloit de visage*
 750 Et de grandour et de corsage.
 751 *Il ad fet remaneir lassaut*
 752 Et defent qe nuls ni aut ;
 753 Le valet ad a reson mis :
 754 "Ne gettez mes," fet il, "amis :
 755 "*Triues te doun, parole a moi* ;
 756 "Lachaison me di et pur quoi"⁷⁴
 757 "Tu as mes homes issi morz.
 758 "As quieus de vus en est li torz ?"

- 555 Quant Dan Sigar vint puignant,
 556 Veit cum les pieres vait ruant.
 559 *Sigar le vit*,
 107 Bel vis aveit, e bele mains,
 108 Cors eschevi, suet e plains.
 559 . . . si lavisat ;
 560 *Del rei Guntier dunc li membrat* :
 564 Que quant le vit tel pitied en ot,
 565 Qua mult grant paine pot parler.
 563 *A sun seigneur resembloit*,
 566 Tut lasalt ad fait cesser :
 567 *Peis e trues lui afia*.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 733 meslee) melle. | 750 corsage) corage. |
| 735 primerain) premereins. au) al. | 751 lassaut) les essaut. |
| 738 Chescun) Chescuns. nes) nel. | 752 defent) defendi. |
| fiere) fere. | 754 gettez) gette. |
| 741-742 Omitted. | 755 Triues) Trois. doun) doin. |
| 743 cors) cors ot. feture) stature. | 756 di et) diez. |
| 745 lesgarda) len esgarda. | 758 As quieus) E a quel. en est) ert. |

⁷² The author of *F* used the same words, *creu et grant*, also in 178 and 285.

⁷³ The insistence of the author of *F* on the table episode in this connection is odd. If the scene had been described in his source as he had already described it, why mention it again and for the third time?

⁷⁴ In *F* the conversation between Sygar and Havelok takes place on the spot ; the first question concerns the actual situation, the second, Havelok's identity. In *G* the procedure is less natural (567 ff.) : *Peis e trues lui afia*, *En sa sale len amena*, *Lui e sa femme*, *e ses compaieniz*, *Les dous vallez*, *dunt dis ainz*. *E quant furent aseurez*, *Li riches hom ad demandez*, *Ki il estait*, etc.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

759 "Sire," fet il, "ieo le vus dirrai,
 760 "Que ia dun mot nen mentirai.
 761 "Quant nus del manger turnames
 762 "Oreinz et al ostel alames,
 763 "A leisir de vostre meson
 764 "Me pursuirent li garcon ;
 765 "Ma femme me voudrent tolir,
 766 "Et deuant moi od lui gisir,
 767 "Vne de lur haches saisi,
 768 "Et moi et li en defendi.
 769 "Verite est qe ieos occis,
 770 "Mes sur moi defendant le fis."
 771 LES SENESCHAUS quant il oit
 772 Le surfet de ceus, li respondit,
 773 "Amis," fet il, "venez auant,
 774 "Si ne dotez tant ne quant ;
 775 "Gardez qe pas ne vus celez,
 776 "Dites moi dont estes nez."⁷⁵

777 "Sire," fet il, "de cest pais ;
 778 "Ceo me conta vns mis amis.
 779 "Vn riche bome, qi Grim out a non
 780 "Qui me nurrir en sa maison,
 781 "Puis qe la regne fut conquis
 782 "Et mis pieres fut occis,
 783 "Ensemble od moi et od ma mere
 784 "Menfui puis la mort mon pere ;
 785 "Mult enporta or et argent.⁷⁶
 786 "Par mier errames lungement,
 787 "De outlagbes fumes assailli,
 788 "Ma mere occistrent et ieo garri,

571 E quant furent aseurez,

572 Li riches hom ad demandez,
 573 *Ki il estait, e com ad nun,*
 577 "Sire," fet il, "ne sai ki sui :
 578 *En cest pais quid ke nez fui.*
 579 *Un mariner, ki Grim out nun,*

580 *Men menat petit valetun.*

582 Com venimes en halt mer,
 583 *De utblages sumes asailliz,*
 585 *Ma mere i ert, si fu oscise ;*

Variants of Ms. P

760 Que . . . nen) De ren ne vus.
 761 nus del) de nostre.
 762 Oreinz) Or ainz. et) omitted.
 763 A leisir) Al issir.
 764 Me) nus.
 765 voudrent) voleient.
 768 en) omitted.
 769 ieos) io les.
 771 Seneschaus) seneschal. quant il
 oit) li respondit.

772 Quant le sur fet de ceus oi.
 775 ne vus) nel me.
 775-776 Transposed.
 777-781 Co me cunt uns meus amis
 Ki io fu ne en cest pais
 Vns riches home de cest pais
 Grim ot a nun qui me norris.
 784 Menfui) Senfui.
 785 Mult) Mut.

⁷⁵ Gaimar adds questions as to Argentille and his companions.

⁷⁶ The author of *F* repeats the same details regarding Grim's station that have been noted before. He adds now that gold and silver were taken with Havelok.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 789 "*Et li prodoms sen eschapa*
 790 "*Qui me nurrit et mult mama.*⁷⁷
 791 "*Quant nostre nief fut ariuee*
 792 "*En vne sauuaige contree,*
 793 "*Li prodoms mansion ileua,*
 794 "*Tut primerement si herberga ;*
 795 "*Assez nus troua a manger*
 796 "*Par vendre siel et par pescher.*⁷⁸
 797 "*Puis iad tant de gent herberge,*
 798 "*Qe ville i est et marche,*
 799 "*Pur ceo qe Grim lapelloit lom,*
 800 "*Grimesby ad la ville a non.*
 801 "*Quant ieo fui grant ieo men*
*parti,*⁷⁹
 802 "*En la maison le roi Aelsi*
 803 "*Fui souz le keus en la quisine ;*
- 804 "*Il me dona ceste meschine ;*
 805 "*Sa parente ert ; ne sai purquei*
 806 "*Il assembla et lui et mei.*⁸⁰
 807 "*Ieo lenmenai fors de la terre.*
 808 "*Ore sui venu mes amis quere ;*
- 809 "*Ne sai ou pusse nul trouver,*

- 586 *Jo guari, ne sai en quele guise ;*
 587 *E li prodom en eschapa,*
 588 *Ki me nuri, e mult mama :*

- 444 "*Peison eumes a manger ;*
 380 "*Grim vendi sel, si fu peschere.*

(Grim and his wife)

- 591 *Quant furent mort, si men turnai,*
 592 *Un rei servi u jo alai ;*
- 593 *E dous vadlez furent od mei*
 594 *Tant cum jo fui od cel rei ;*
 597 *Si cum lui plut la me donad,*
 596 *E ceste dame iert sa parente.*
 598 *E ensemble nus espusad.*
- 599 *Ci sui venud en cest pais.*
 606 *Il (Alger) me load, e sa muillier,*
 607 *Ci a venir, mes amis querre*
 609 *Mes jo ne sa un sul nomer,*

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 789 prodoms) prodome. sen) en. | 799 lom) hom. |
| 793 mansion) maisun. ileua) idresca. | 801 ieo men) de lui. |
| 794 primerement) premereins. si) se. | 803 le) les. |
| 796 siel) cel. | 807 fors) hors. |
| 797 de) omitted. herberge) herbergez. | 808 venu) venus. |
| 798 marche) creu marchez. | 809 pusse nul) en pusse. |
-

⁷⁷ These passages, *F* 786–790 and *G* 582–588, are remarkably alike.

⁷⁸ In *F* the details mentioned in 123–142 are again repeated. This description is based on *G* 437–452, with additional data as to the country where Grim landed and the growth of the town. Gaimar enumerates fishes and food, which are omitted in *F*.

⁷⁹ The difference in the time of leaving Grimsby is striking. It is, on the other hand, noticeable that the line *quant ieo fui grant, ieo men parti* corresponds in form to *quant furent mort, si men turnai* (591 *G*).

⁸⁰ Gaimar mentions the two valets here. The author of *F* had brought that item into his account before, and so omits it. On the other hand, he is more detailed as to Havelok's position at court.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

P un sul

- 810 "*Car ieo ne sai nul nomer.*"
 811 LI SENESCAUS li respondi:
 812 "*Beaus amis, ton non me di.*"
 813 "*Haveloc, sire, sui nomez,*
P apellez
 814 "*Et Coaran fui rappelez*⁸¹
 815 "*Quant en la curt le roi estoie*
 816 "*Et de sa quisine seruoie.*"
 817 Li senescaus se purpensa,
 818 En son corage se remembra
 819 *Qe si out non li fiz le roi*
 820 *Qe Grim en out mene od soi.*
 821 Purpoi qil nel ad coneu;
 822 Mes nepurquant en doute fu.⁸²
 823 *Par triues lad asseure,*
 824 *Et el chastel lad amene,*⁸³
 825 *Sa femme et ses compaignons.*
 826 Il les appelle ses prisons.
 827 Mult les fist bien seruir,
 828 La nuit en sa chambre gisir.
P furent choche
 829 Quant li enfant cuche,
 830 Vn son priue iad mande
 831 Pur saueir quant cil dormira
 832 Si flambe de lui istra

GAIMAR

- 610 *Ne ne sai com les puise trover."*
 611 Dist li prodom:
"Cum as tu num?"
D L Aveloc oi
 616 "*Sai ben que Haveloc eut num*
D L Cuarant
 614 "*Si mapelerent Cuherant:*
 613 "*Mes cum jo sui en la curt grant,*
 621 SYGAR sestut, si escultat:
 622 Del fiz le rei bien li membrat.
 624 Le fiz Gunter cel non aveit.
 571 *E quant furent aseurez,*
 567 *Peis e trues lui asia,*
D E en
 568 *En sa sale len amena,*
 569 *Lui e sa femme, e ses compaienzz.*
 629 La nuit le fist tres bien guaiter,
 625 Si li membrat de un altre vice,

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 810 nul) un sul. | 824 Cest chastel od lui menee. |
| 812 Beaus) Beus duz. | 825 ses) ses dous. |
| 814 rappelez) apellez. | 827 bien) ben le ior. |
| 816 seruoie) le serueie. | 829 cuche) furent choche. |
| 817 senescaus) riches home. | 830 mande) enveie. |
| 818 se) li. | 832 Si) Si la. |

⁸¹ The statement regarding Havelok's name is different in the two versions. In G he does not know which name to give, and explains where each was used, and refers to Alger for the information about his boyhood; in F he gives the name Havelok but says he was called Cuherant at court.

⁸² There is much similarity in these two passages though F is often less concise.

⁸³ In G Sygar had taken Havelok home before questioning him. In F the explanations had been made on the spot; hence the difference in the two lines where Gaimar's *sale* is replaced by *el chastel*. The author of F also adds a few lines to tell of the kindly treatment of Havelok.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

Ms. P. La norrisce quil ot norriz
Souentes fez le regei

Ken sun dormant li aueneit
Meis cil feu pas ne lui nuseit.⁸⁴

D L sot
626 Kil vit jadis par *la nurice*.
627 De la flambe ki ert issant
628 De sa buche, quant ert dormant.
300 *Ke co mavient en dormant*.
298 De la flambe nient ne me sent.

833 Car ceo auenoit au fiz le roi
834 *Qe* Grim out mene od soi.
835 *Haveloc fut mult las*,
836 *Endormi sest igniel pas*;
837 *Meisme lure quil dormit*
838 *De sa bouche le feu issit*.
839 Le chamberlenc out grant poour;
840 *Conter le vait a son seignur*;
841 Et il en ad Dieu mercie,

631 *Pur co kil ert forment lasse*
634 *Sil sendormi*, nuls nel demant.
635 *Ignelpas com il dormi*,
636 *De sa buche la flambe issi*.
637 E li servant ki lunt guaite,
638 *A lur seignur lunt tost nuncie*.
721 Dieu seit loez,
722 Ore di mon dreit seignur trouez :
641 Dunc sot il bien que veirs esteit
642 Co que de lui pensez aveit.

842 *Qe* le dreit heir ad recouere.⁸⁵

843 Ses chapeleins fet demander ;
844 Ses briefs escriure et enseeler ;
845 Par ses messages *les manda*,
846 *Et pur ses amis enuoia*,
847 *Pur ses homes*, pur ses parenz.
848 *Mult i assembla* granz genz,
849 Tuz ceus qi el pais estoient
850 Qui le roi Hodulf haoient.
851 Par matin fet les baigns tempre⁸⁶
852 *Et celui baigner et lauer* ;
853 *De riches drax lad reuestu*,
854 Et sa femme, qe od lui fu ;⁸⁷

647 *Si mandat pur ses chevaliers*,
648 *Pur geldons e pur peoniers*.
646 *Dun pur ses homes enveiad*.
650 Quant il en ot mult assemblez,

652 *Baigner le fait e conreier*.
653 *De novels dras lad fait vestir* :

Variants of Ms. P

833-834 *P* substitutes the lines inserted in the text.
835 mult) durement.
836 igniel) ignele.
843 chapeleins) escriveins.
844 enseeler) enseler.

845 manda) chargea.
846 Et) omitted. enuoia) les enveia.
847 Pur, pur) E, e.
848 Mult i) Al demein.
849 estoient)mancient. haoient)aeient.
851 baigns) bainz.

⁸⁴ These lines of Ms. *P*, wholly lacking in Ms. *H*, are close to those in *G*.

⁸⁵ In *F*, after Sygar was told of the flame, he rejoiced, sent for his clerks, and through them summoned his people. In *G* Sygar went to verify the report, and recognized that Havelok was the heir of Denmark. He too summoned his people.

⁸⁶ These descriptions are similar but the author of *F* amplifies several details.

⁸⁷ The author of *F*, here as elsewhere, is more careful to mention Argentille than is Gaimar.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 855 *En la sale les ad menez.*
 856 Haveloc fut mult effreez
 857 *De la grant gent qil veoit :*
 858 Haveloc mult se cremoit,
 859 *Pur les homes qil out occis,*
 860 *Qe ceo fust vs de cel pais*
 861 *Qe lom le deust issi seruir,*
 862 *Baigner, lauer, et reuestir,*
 863 *Et puis iuger pur le mesfet,*
 864 *Et auant amener au plet.*
 865 *Nest merueille sil se dota :⁸⁸*
 866 *Vne grant bache recouera*
 867 *(El paleis pendit par vn croc)⁸⁹*
 868 *As ii. poins lad pris Haveloc,*
 869 *Vigerousement se voudra defendre*
 870 *Sil le voelent iuger a pendre*
 871 *LI SENESCHAUS se regarda,*
 872 *Vers lui se trest, si lacola ;*
 873 *"Sire," fet il, "neiez effrei ;*
 874 *"Cele bache rendez a mei."⁹⁰*
 875 *"Neiez garde, ieo le vus di,*
 876 *"Ma leaute vus en affi."*
 877 *Il li ad la hache rendue ;*
 878 *Et cil lad au croc pendue.⁹¹*

GAIMAR

- 654 *En la sale le fait venir.*
 657 *Pour out grant ke cele gent*
 655 *Com en la sale est entrez,*
 656 *U vist tant homes asemblez,*
 657 *Pour out grant ke cele gent*
 659 *Pur les cinc homes kout tuez,*
 658 *Ne li fascent mal jugement :*
 661 *Pur une bache volt aler,*
 662 *Ke iloc teneit un bacheler,*
 663 *Saisir la volt pur sei defendre.*
 664 *Sigar le vait, si lad fet prendre.*
 665 *Com il le tindrent de tuz leez,*
 666 *Sigar li dist : "Ne vus dotez :*
 664 *L Mes la bache de vus metez,*
 667 *"Naiez garde, li mien ami,*
 668 *"Bien le vus jure, sil vus afi,*
 669 *"Kore vus aim plus ke ne fis hier,⁹²*

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 857 De) Pur. | 868 poins) poinz. lad pris) le tint. |
| 858 Sauiez ke li uallet cremeit. | 869 Vigerousement) Viument. |
| 864 au) al, and elsewhere. | 870 a) ou. |
| 866 recouera) trouua. | 871 se) le. |
| 867 par) a. | 875 Neiez) Ni naiez. |

⁸⁸ The cause of Havelok's fear is explained more fully in *F*. The idea, however, is the same as that in *G*.

⁸⁹ Cf. this line with 703 of *F*, which occurs in the passage about the fight with Sygar's men. 703 will be seen to correspond to 662 of *G*, whereas 867 of *F* corresponds to *G* 540, *ken une meson trova pendant*, used in the description of the fight. This is a coincidence worthy of note.

⁹⁰ The details are the same in the two versions, but Sygar's actions in *F* are more gentle and affectionate.

⁹¹ The acquiescence of Havelok and the returning of the *bache* to the hook is noted in *F*. Gaimar leaves the former to be understood.

⁹² *G* alone contains these lines which have already been referred to as containing an obscure allusion to a meal which has not been described. In *F* the meal is discussed and these lines are omitted or replaced by the lines about the *bache*. The omission is interesting.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- P* A une part ser le fit
 879 A vne part le fet secir,
 880 *P* Sa femme juste li sasist,⁹³
 880 *Qe* bien le poent tuz veoir;
 881 *P* Sun chamberlenc ad apelle,
 882 *P* Le corn le rei ad demande,
 881 De son tresor *fet apporter*
 882 Le corn *qe* nul ne poet soner,⁹⁴
 883 Si dreit heir nest de lignage
 884 Sur les Danois par heritage,⁹⁶
 883 *P* Co dit cil quil assaierunt

 884 *P* Sauer si soner le porrunt;
 885 Sauoir si soner le porroit;
 886 Dist lur quil essaieroit.
 887 Cil qui porra soner le cor
 888 *Il lui dorra son anel dor.*⁹⁷
 889 Nout en la sale, cheualer,
 890 Sergant, valet, nesquier
 891 *Qa* sa bouche nel mist;
 892 *Onques nuls soner nel fist.*
 893 Le seneschal ad le corn pris,
 894 Haueloc lad en la main mis;

 895 "Amis," fet il, "car essayez
 896 "Si le corn soner porrez."⁹⁸
 897 "Par foi!" fet il, "sire, ne sai;⁹⁹
 898 "Onques mes corn ne maniai,
 899 "Ieo nen uoudroie estre gabez;

GAIMAR

- 670 "Quant vus asis a mon manger,"
 671 *Puis si lasist delez sei;*
 672 *Aporter fait le corn le rei.*

 686 A un chevaler le fait liverer;⁹⁵
 687 *D L* Si lui ad dit tut en riant,
 688 Quil sune si quil seit cornant,

 687 "Kil sonerat kil seit cornant,
 689 *Jo li durrai un bon anel.*"
 696 Ore vont corner le mainel,
 697 Li chevaler e li sergant:
 699 *Unc pur nuls dels ne volt soner.*
 700 Donc lont baille al bachelier,
 702 Ki Avelocs out non.

D cor ne sonat
 704 E dist, ke unkes ne cornat.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 879-886 A une part ser, etc., as in
the text. | 893 senescal) seneschaus. |
| 889 Il ni ot un sul cheualer. | 894 la main) les meins. |
| 891 mist) messist. | 896 Se ia soner le poez. |
| 892 nuls) nul deus. | 897 Par . . . il) Cil li respunt. |

⁹³ Again the author of *F* gives Argentille prominence, where *G* has no mention of her.

⁹⁴ 882-884 repeat with change of tense the exact words of 48-50 of *F*.

⁹⁵ *G* (673, 682-686) contains the description of the horn and the guardianship of it, which was given in *F*.

⁹⁶ *Ms. P* and *Mss. D* and *L* are somewhat more alike than are *Mss. H* and *M* with respect to these two lines.

⁹⁷ Gaimar devotes six lines to the magic properties of the ring.

⁹⁸ The words of Sygar are given only in *F*.

⁹⁹ *G* has Quant cil le tint, sil esgardat.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 900 "Mes puis qe vus le me comandez,
 901 "*A ma bouche le corn mettrai*,¹⁰⁰
 902 "Et si ieo puis, ieo le sonerai."
 903 Haveloc est leue en piez,
 904 Et del corner apparaillez,
 905 Le corn benesquit et seigna;
 905 *P* Le corn sona par tel heir
 906 *Hautement et bien le sona*.¹⁰¹
 906 *P* Ke mult le pout hum de loinz
 oir,
 907 A grant merueille le tenoient
 908 Tuit cil qen la sale estoient
 909 Li senescaus les appella,
 910 A tuz ensemble le mustra;
 911 "Seignurs, purceo vus ai mandez,
 912 "*Qe Dieu* nus ad reusitez.
 913 "*Veez ci nostre dreit beir*;
 914 "Bien en deuom grant ioie auer."
 915 Tut primerain se desafubla,
 916 *Pardeuant lui sagement*;
 917 Sis homs deuint, si li iura
 918 *Qe* leaument le seruir.
 919 Li autre sont apres ale,
 920 Chescuns de bone volente;
 921 *Tuit si bome sont deuenu*
 922 *Puis quil li eurent receu*.¹⁰²
 923 La nouele fut recontee:
 924 Ne pout estre lunges celee.

GAIMAR

- 710 "*A vostre buche le metez*."
 712 "*De mai serra ja aseie*."
 714 A sa buche lad asaie.
 713 Donc prist le corn, *si lad seigne*;
 716 *Le corn tant gentement sonat*,
 717 Ke unc ne fu ainz oi son per;
 719 Sygar lentent; sailli en piez,
 720 Entre ses bras lad enbracez.
 721 Puis sescrîat: "*Deu seit loez*,
 722 "*Ore ai mon dreit seignur trovez*;
 723 "*Ore ai celui ke desirai*."
 729 *Il meismes sagement*,
 730 De fai tenir laseura.
 727 Tuz ses homes ad donc mande:
 728 Lores li firent felte.
 733 *Tuz sunt ses bomes devenuz*,
 734 *E a seignur lunt receuz*.

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 900 le) omitted. | 910 le) lur. |
| 901 corn) corin. | 914 Bien) Mult. deuom) deuez. |
| 902 ieo) iol. ieo le) sil. | 915 primerain) premerement. desa- |
| 903 est) sest. piez) pez. | fubla) desfubla. |
| 904-906 De corner sest aparilez | 917 Sis) Ses. |
| Le corn etc. as in the text. | 921-922 Transposed in <i>P</i> . |
| 908 sale) mesun. | |

¹⁰⁰ Havelok's remarks in *F* repeat in the first person the directions given by Sygar in the second person, according to *G*. 899 belongs to *F* alone. 898-901 in *F* represent ten lines of *G* where more conversation is given.

¹⁰¹ Gaimar continues to describe the sound. Ms. *P* contains a descriptive clause as does *G* (717), although the two lines differ.

¹⁰² The general description of the homage is the same. In *F* the order is different; Sygar goes first and then the others; in *G* all did him homage and Sygar himself knelt and pledged his faith.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

925 De totes parz i accuroient,
 926 Et riche et poure, qui loeient,
 927 De lui firent lur auowe,¹⁰³
 928 A cheualer lont adubbe.¹⁰⁴
 929 Tant li aida le senescal,
 930 Qui prodome fut et leal,
 931 Qe merveillous ost assembla.¹⁰⁵

735 Quant co unt fet, asemblent gent;
 736 En quatre jurs en ont maint cent,
 737 E al quint jor, des chevalers
 738 Ourent il bien trente millers.
 739 Li reis Edulf donc deffierent :
 (D L Odulf)

932 Au roi Hodulf par brief manda
 933 Qe la terre li deliverast,
 934 Hastiement si sen alast.
 935 LI ROIS Hodulf, quant ceo oi,
 936 Mult sen gaba et escharni;¹⁰⁶
 937 Ceo dist qa lui combatera.
 938 De totes parz gent auna,
 939 Et li valez en reont assez.
 940 Au iour gentre eus fut nomez,

Variants of *Ms. P*

925 accuroient) acoreient.	930 leal) bon vassal.
926 qui loeient) quil oieient.	938 auna) assembla.
927 auowe) auoe.	939 reont) runt.

¹⁰³ The author of *F* alone mentions the concourse of all kinds of people to do homage to Havelok, after the news of the new king has become known.

¹⁰⁴ Only in *F* do we find that Havelok was knighted.

¹⁰⁵ *G* is more exact in his information about the mustering of an army whereas the author of *F* dwells on the challenging of Hodulf.

¹⁰⁶ Gaimar does not note Hodulf's reception of the challenge or his assembling of an army, though that Hodulf collected one is evident. He appointed a day for the battle. Havelok fought Hodulf in single combat; Gaimar, however, states merely :

En un plein sentrecontrerent.
 Asez i out granz colps feruz :
 Li reis Edulf fu dunke vencuz.
 Car Haveloc si se contint,
 Il sul en oscist plus de vint.
 Dous princes aveit el pais,
 Ki ainz erent ses enemis,
 E od Edulf serent tenuz :
 Ore sunt a sa merci venuz. (740-748)

In the passage in *F* the circumstances given by *G* about the victory, the *menue gent* and Havelok's forgiveness of them are kept. In addition the *menue gent* are utilized to introduce a single combat replacing the battle in *G*. The two princes are left out by the author of *F*.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 941 Que li dui ost sassembleroient
 942 Et ensemble se combateroient,
 943 Haveloc vist la gent menue
 944 Qen saide estoit venue ;
 945 Ne voelt quil soient occis :
 946 Au roi Hodulf, par ses amis,
 947 Manda qa lui se combatist
 948 Cors contre cors, et, si le ven-
 quist,
 949 Les genz a lui touz se venissent,
 950 Et a seignur le tenissent :
 951 "Ne sai purquei se combateroient
 952 "Qui nule culpe nen auoient."
 953 Li rois nel deigna refuser,
 954 Tote sa gent fist desarmer,
 955 Et cil la sue de lautre part ;
 956 Mult durement li sembla tart
 957 Quil soient ensemble venu,
 958 Et quil eust gaigne ou perdu.
 959 Ensemble vindrent li baron,
 960 Requistrent soi come leon.
 961 Haveloc fut de grant vertu ;
 962 Le roi Hodulf ad si feru
 963 Dune hache qil apporta,
 964 Quil labatit, puis ne leua,
 965 Iloec loccist deuant sa gent,
 966 Qe touz li crient hautement,
 967 "Sire, merci, qe ni moroms,
 968 "Car volenters te seruiroms."
 969 Cil se sont a lui tourne,
 970 *Et il lur ad tut pardone.*
 971 Apres cest fet ad receu
 972 Le regne qa son pierre fu.
 973 Par la terre bone pees mist,
 974 Et des felons iustise prist.
- 749 Del pais la menue gent,
 750 Vindrent a merci ensement ;
 751 *E Haveloc lur fist pardons,*
 752 Par le conseil de ses barons.
 756 De lui firent seignur e reis.

Variants of Ms. P

- 941-942 Quant les os furent assem-
 blez E de bataille conreiez.
 944 saide) saie.
 950 a) cum. tenissent) seruisent.
 951 se combateroient) cil en moreient.
 952 culpe) cupes.
 956 sembla) est.
 957 soient) fussent.
 958 gaigne) pris.
- 959 vindrent) venent.
 960 Requistrent) Requerent.
 967 qe ni moroms) nus ne morom.
 969 tourne) comande.
 After 972 Li Daneis en firent lur Rei
 Tuz ses uesins suz mist a sei.
 973 Par la) En sa.
 974 prist) fist.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

- 975 Sa femme creut et lamoit,
 976 Et ele mult bien le seruoit.
 977 Mult fut eincois desesperee,
 978 Mes ore lad Dieus reconfortee,
 979 Quant Haueloc est rois pussanz.
 980 Le regne tint plus de iiij. anz,¹⁰⁷
 981 Merueillous tresor i auna.
 982 Argentille li comanda
 983 Quil passast en Engleterre
 984 Pur son heritage conquerre,
 985 Dont son oncle lout engettee,
 986 A grant tort desheritee.
 987 Li rois li dist quil fera
 988 Ceo quele li comandera.
 989 Sa nauie fet aturner,
 990 Ses genz et ses ostz mander;
 991 En mier se met quant orre a,
 992 Et la reyne od lui mena.
 993 Quatre vinz [nefs] et quatre cenx
 994 Out Haueloc pleines de genz.¹⁰⁸
 995 Tant ont nage et sigle,
 996 Qen Carleflure est ariue.
- 759 *Après sumond tute sa navire,*
 760 *De son realme tute lempire.*
 494 Lur sigles drescent al vent.
 495 Tant unt nage e gouverne,
 496 Ken Denemarche sunt arive.

Variants of Ms. P

- 975-976 Sa femme ama e mult cheri
 E le lout ben deserui.
 977 eincois) anceis.
 980 regne) realme. iiij.) treiz.
 981 Merueillous) merueile.
 982 comanda) conseilla.
 985 son oncle) ses uncles. lout en-
 gettee) auoit iete.
 988 Quan quele li conseilera.
 990 Ses . . . ostz) A sa gent e sun ost.
- 990 is followed in *P* by
 Quant sun cire ot apareille
 Ni ad pus gaires atarge.
 991 orre) orce.
 993 nefis) in *P* only.
 994 Out) Od.
 994 followed in *P* by
 Armes portent e garisun,
 Vin e forment, char e pesun.
 996 Carleflure) Carreflod. est) sunt.

¹⁰⁷ In *F* the peace in Denmark is described, and reference is made to Argentille (975-978). Havelok reigned four years, then at Argentille's instigation went to England. *G* describes the oaths of fealty which were taken after the battle, and in 757-758 mentions a feast and the general rejoicing, *si cum nus dit la verai estoire*. Havelok then leaves immediately for England. No reference is made to Argentille. The feast of Gaimar's story has given rise to much comment, as one of the principal differences in the two versions.

¹⁰⁸ *F* is more detailed in this description of the return to England. The author gives the number of boats, mentions Argentille, and names the landing place in England. 995 corresponds closely to *G* (495). The line occurred in *F* before. Cf. 122.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

997 Sur le hauene se herbergerent,
 998 Par le pais viande quierent.
 999 Puis enuoia li nobles rois
 1000 Par le conseil de ses Danois,
 1001 A Alsì, quil li rendist
 1002 La terre qe tint Ekenbright,
 1003 Qa sa niece fut donee,
 1004 Dont il lout desheritee ;
 1005 *Et, si rendre nel voleit,*
 1006 *Mande* quil le purchaceroit.
 1007 AU ROI uindrent li messenger,
 1008 Mult le trouerent fort et fier
 1009 Quant il li ont ceo conte,
 1010 Et il en ont ris et gabe,¹⁰⁹
 1011 Par orgoil lur respondi,
 1012 "Merueille," fet il, "ai oi
 1013 "De Coaran cel mien quistron,
 1014 "Que ieo nurri en ma maison,
 1015 "Qe me vient terre demander.
 1016 "Mes keus ferai a lui iuster
 1017 "Od trepez et od chaudrons,
 1018 "Od paelles et od ploms."
 1019 Li messenger sen sont turne ;
 1020 A lur seignour ont conte
 1021 Le respons qe le roi lur fist,
 1022 Et del terme qe le roi lur mist.
 1023 Dedenz li iour qil eurent pris,
 1024 Alsì manda ses amis
 1025 Et touz ceus quil pout auer ;
 1026 Nul ni lessa remaneir.
 1027 A Theford les ostz assemblerent
 1028 E del ferir se conreierent.
 1029 Rois Alsì primes sarma ;
 1030 Sur vn cheual ferant monta ;

762 Li reis Edelsi donc deffia.

764 *Sil ne li rend, le drait samie*

763 Co li manda, kil le defie.

Variants of Ms. P

997 hauene) marine. se) omitted.
 1002 Ekenbright) Achebrit.
 1003 donee) iure.
 1006 Mande) omitted.
 1008 fort) dur. fier) fer.
 1009 Lur message li unt cunte.
 1011 Par) Par grant. lur) les.

1017 chaudrons) caudruns.

1019 turne) alez.

1021 le roi) omitted.

1021 followed by

Quant les douz oz sessemblerent

E ensemble se cumbaterent.

1027 Theford) Tofort.

¹⁰⁹ Alsì's jests here belong only to the author of *F*. It will be remembered, however, that Gaimar reported his jests earlier in the poem where the author of *F* omitted them. Cf. *G* 323 ff.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

GAIMAR

1031 Ses enemis vet surueeir,
 1032 Combien de gent poent auoir
 1033 Quant il ad les Danois veuz
 1034 As enseignes et as escuz,
 1035 Ne li remembra des caudrons,
 1036 Ne des paeles ne des ploms,
 1037 Dont il les auoit manacez ;
 1038 Arere sen est repairez,
 1039 Sa gent enseigne qil feront.
 1040 Et coment *se combateront*.¹¹⁰
 1041 Entre eus fut dure la meslee
 1042 Dissi qe vint *a la vespre*,
 1043 Quil ne poeient plus souffrir ;
 1044 *La neire nuit les fist partir*.
 1045 *Mult iout des Danois maumis*,
 1046 *Et des autres assez occis* ¹¹¹
 1047 Haueloc fut irascuz
 1048 Pur ses homes qil out perduz ;
 1049 Od ses Danois sen fust alez,
 1050 Et a sa nauie retournez,
 1051 Si la reine li suffrisist :
 1052 *Mes un engin ele laprist* ¹¹²
 1053 Dont il veincroit son enem. *i*
 1054 *Remist* le roi, si la crei ;

767 (*Combatirent sei en un plain*),768 *Del matin treskal serain*.771 *Quant naire nuit les desevera*,769 *Mult i out homes afolez*770 *Dambedous parz, e mort rueiz*.773 *Mes par conseil de la reine*,774 *Ki enseignat une meschine**D L omit Par ki*775 *Par ki remist le mal en la bataille*,*Variants of Ms. P*

1032 poent) il put.
 1038 Arere sen est) Ainz est arere.
 1043-1044 follows 1045-1046.
 1043 plus) mes.
 1044 La neire) quant la.

1045-1046 maumis) oscis. Trans-
 posed in *P*.
 1047 fut) fu mult.
 1051 suffrisist) suffrit.
 1052 ele laprist) quili pramist.
 1053 veincroit) veincerei.

¹¹⁰ Gaimar says only :

Li reis Edelsi li remandat,
 Ke contre lui se combaterat.

Combatirent sei en un plain. (765-767)

The author of *F* adds the description of the mustering of an army, Nul ni lessa remaneir, the plan of the battle at Theford, the feeling of Alsì at the sight of the Danes, and his forgetting his jests.

¹¹¹ These passages, 1042-1046 of *F* and 768-770 of *G*, are very similar.

¹¹² The action of the queen is even more emphatic in *F*, since Havelok, furious at the loss of his men, is about to return to Denmark when she saves him. Lines 1052-1100 are, with the exception of an occasional detail elaborated by the author of *F*, almost word for word the lines of *G*. There is not a variation of importance, and the number of identical lines in the two poems is astonishing.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

1055 *Tote nuit fist grant peus trencher,*
 1056 *Et de ii. parz bien aguissier ;*
 1057 *Les bomes morz i enfichèrent,*
 1058 *Et entre les vifs les drescerent ;*
 1059 *Deus escheles en ont rengees,*
 1060 *Les haches sur les cols leuees.*

1061 *AU MATIN,* quant il aiourna,
P saparila

1062 *Rois Alsi primer sarma ;*
 1063 *Si firent tuit si cheualer,*
 1064 *Pur bataille comencer ;*
 1065 *Mes quant il virent ceus dela,*
 1066 *Tote la char lur berica.*

1067 *Mult fut bidouse la compaignie*
 1068 *Des morz qil virent en la plaine.*
 1069 *Contre un bome qil auoient,*
 1070 *De lautre part vii. estoient.*
 1071 *Au roi dient si conseiller*
 1072 *Que bataille ni ad mester ;*
 1073 *Li Danois sont de genz creuz,*
 1074 *Et il ad multz des soens perduz ;*
 1075 *A la dame rende son droit,*
 1076 *Et face pees einz qe pis soit.*
 1077 *P Li reis ne pout par el passer*
 1077 *Au roi lestoet tut granter,*
 1078 *P Le plet li estut granter,*
 1078 *Car il ne poet par el passer,*
 1079 *Par le consail de ses priuez,*
 1080 *Au roi Danois sest acordez ;*
 1081 *Par fiance lasseura,*
 1082 *Et saufs ostages li dona,*
 1083 *Tote sa terre li rendit*
 1084 *Que Ekenbright tint tant come*
il vesquit.
P De Hoillant tresque a Coles-
estre,

GAIMAR

777 *Tute nuit fist en terre ficher pels,*
 778 *(Plus gros e granz ke tonels)*
 779 *Les morz bomes en sus ficherent,*
 780 *E tute nuit sus les drescerent.*
 781 *Dous escheles en firent granz,*
 782 *Ke veirement estait semblant*
 783 *Kil fuissent combatanz e vifs :*
 784 *Le jor devant erent oscis.*

789 *Lendemain se reparillerent ;*

790 *De combatre mult saficherent.*
 785 *Home ki de loinz les esguardout,*
 794 *Tut la char len berica :*
 786 *Tute la char len bericout.*
 788 *Hydus semblent morz desconfes.*
 787 *Ambure de loinz e depres,*
 795 *Car encontre uns bom kil aveient,*
 796 *Del altre part set en vaient.*
 797 *Arere en vont al rei nuncier,*
 798 *Li combatre ni ad mester :*

799 *Rende a la dame son dreit ;*
 800 *E fasce peis ainz ke pis seit.*

802 *Donc li estut co granter ;*
D L passer
 801 *Li reis ne pout par el aler,*
 803 *Car si baron li ont loe.*

804 *Rendu li fut tut li regne,*

Variants of Ms. P

1055 grant) omitted.
 1056 bien) omitted.
 1057 enfichèrent) ficherent.
 1060 cols) cous. leuees) dreceez.
 1062 primer sarma) saparila.
 1064 Pur) Pur la.

1068 plaine) champaigne.
 1069 Contre) En cuntre.
 1070 estoient) enveient.
 1077-1078 as above in the text.
 1082 saufs) ses. dona) bailla.
 1084 tant come) quant.

THE LAI D'HAVELOC

- 1085 *De Holande desgen Gloucestre*
 1086 *Furent Danois seigneur et mestre ;*
 1087 *Mes Haueloc sa feste tint*
 1088 *A la cite quant il vint ;*
 1089 *Des barons receut les bomages,*

 1090 *Si lur rendit lur heritages.*
 1091 *Enpres cest fet rois Aelsis*
 1092 *Ne vesquit mesqe quinze dis ;*
 1093 *Il nout nul beir si droiturel*
 1094 *Come Haueloc et sa muiller.*
 1095 *Li baron les ont receuz*
 1096 *Et citez et chasteuz renduz.*
 1097 *Haueloc tint en sa baillie*

 1098 *Nicole et tote Lindesie ;*
 1099 *XX. anz regna, si en fut rois,*
 1100 *Assez conquist par ses Danois ;*

GAIMAR

- 805 *Des Hoiland treska Colecestre.*
 806 *Rei Haveloc la tin sa feste ;*
 807 *Les bomages de ses barons,*
 808 *Recuz par tut ses regions.*

 809 *Puis apres co, ke quinz dis*
 810 *Ne vesqui li reis Edelsis.*
 811 *Il nout nul eir si dreiturel*
 812 *Com Haveloc e sa muiller :*
 814 *Li barnage tresben otreient,*

 815 *Ke Haveloc, e sa amis,*
 816 *Ait la terre rei Edelsis.*
 50 *Sue ert Nicole e Lindesie,*
 817 *Ja si ot il: vint anz fud reis:*
 818 *Mult cunquist par les Daneis.*

Variants of Ms. P

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1085 <i>De Hoillant tresque a Colesestre.</i> | 1093 <i>nout) nolt. droiturel) dreiturer.</i> |
| 1091 <i>Enpres) Apres.</i> | 1099 <i>si en) e si.</i> |
| 1092 <i>mesqe) mie ke.</i> | 1100 <i>ses) ces.</i> |
-

The first impression received from the preceding comparison is that of surprise that so many lines reflect the verses of Gaimar almost word for word, and that the parts showing a real change in the details narrated by him are comparatively few. Reviewing these changes, one sees that they consist of the following points: (1) In the Lay Gaimar's mariner has become a baron; (2) Havelok leaves Grimsby during Grim's lifetime, and not after his death as in *G*; (3) in *F* the king appoints Alsie as guardian for Argentille before he dies, whereas in *G* Adelbriht dies and the queen goes to her brother; (4) the author of *F* says of Havelok,

Pur la franchise q'il out
 Entre eus le tenoient pur sot ;

Gaimar, on the other hand, speaks of his generosity as making him beloved at court; (5) in *F* Kelloc's husband in person conducts Havelok to Denmark, in *G* they commend him to a merchant whom they know; (6) in the two descriptions in the Lay where the "hache" is mentioned the lines in which Gaimar

described the place from which it was taken are interchanged, 702-704 and 856-867; (7) when Sygar in *F* addresses Havelok after the tower episode, he asks first about the fight, then as to Havelok's identity, and then takes Havelok and Argentille home with him: in *G* he gives a truce, takes them home, and then asks Havelok who he is; (8) the place assigned to Havelok before the horn is brought in is different in the two versions; (9) a simple variation occurs in the order in which all do reverence to Havelok; (10) the single combat replaces the battle mentioned by Gaimar (*F* 935-965).

Points 1, 2, 3, and 10 are important modifications of the details found in *G*, and each modification is followed by a whole scene lacking in *G*: 1, by the description of Grim's guardianship, the castle, and embarcation; 2, by the elaborate account of Grim's interview with Havelok, the instructions given the departing youth, and the gift of clothes; 3, by the scene in which Argentille's guardian is appointed, including his oath which leads eventually to the scene with the barons; and 10, by the lines telling of the single combat. 1 has been conceded by all to be a change made by the author of the Lay, who betrayed himself twice by inconsistencies, 118 and 135. 10 may also be considered his invention, since he probably wished to introduce a knightly combat. The remaining points 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, represent very slight differences. They give a variation in tone to the description by stressing the prominence of Argentille (9), by noting the more courtly deference paid to Havelok by those surrounding him (5, 10), by emphasizing the inability of the vulgar to comprehend Havelok (4), or by making the narrative more complete and clear (6, 7). These minor changes all appear to indicate the attempt of the author of *F* to impart clearness and courtly coloring to his work, and the same intention seems to explain the two more sweeping changes 1 and 10. Point 2 also occurs in a scene which is probably the author's own,—the elaborate account of Grim's interview with Havelok, the instructions to him, and his gift. The question is only whether in his source he found that Grim was living when Havelok left Grimsby, or whether he changed that detail also in order to introduce the scene of farewell. Again 3, as we have seen in the discussion of the English Lay, seemed to be a change from the more primitive details given by Gaimar. In that same comparison it seemed also that 2 was less primitive in form

than the circumstances of Gaimar's account. Is it not probable, then, that the author of the Lay made this change in order to provide Argentille as well as Havelok with a guardian, and that he introduced the oath and the scene of the barons to increase the courtly atmosphere of the poem, and to give his audience, according to his point of view, a plausible excuse for the conduct of the barons in allowing their queen to be treated in such a disgraceful manner? Is there not here evident the same spirit that inspired the line of the Lay describing the valiant defence by Havelok's party in the scene of the pirates' attack? In Chapter III, I suggested the intermediary position which the Lay seemed to hold with regard to Gaimar and the English Lay in these very scenes. It seems probable that Gaimar's details were changed. Is it therefore not likely that these points, 2 and 3, the guardianship of Argentille and the departure from Grimsby, were modified for the first time by the author of the Lay who, as we know, made other modifications and changes, the spirit of which corresponds exactly to that of these two variations?

Few actual changes of Gaimar's narrative are to be seen in the Lay; the versions accordingly differ chiefly because of the parts omitted or added by the author of the latter. The omissions cited by Petrie have already been discussed and found to be unimportant. As additions to Gaimar, besides such details as the visit to the hermit, Petrie mentioned the full account of the tower episode referred to only vaguely by Gaimar, and the meal described in the Lay and alluded to very obscurely by Gaimar. Kupferschmidt, however, shows that these descriptions do not differ in substance, and, moreover, that the incidents of the story of the Lay are all found in Gaimar's account, although in more condensed form. The description of the meal at Sygar's offers no noteworthy details not found in Gaimar's description of the fight, or elsewhere in his narrative, but they give a clear, connected scene where Gaimar gave only an obscure reference to a meal, when Sygar said to Havelok:

Kore vus aim plus ke ne fis hier,
Quant vus asis a mon manger. (669-670)

That this is a conscious expansion on the part of the writer of the Lay seems attested by the unnecessary stress which he

gives the detail, by bringing in an allusion to it again, when he describes Sygar's seeing Havelok on the tower:

Vist Haveloc et creu et grant,
(Et a sa table auoit mange,
Ensemble od lui out este). (740-742)

The principal additions to Gaimar's version include the following scenes: the description of Baron Grim, the castle and embarkation (51-69, 74-82, 84-109); Grim's parting from Havelok (157-192); the appointment of the guardian of Argentille (212-230); the long scene of the king and the barons (279-360, 364-376); the chamberlain and the hermit (485-536). Other additions consist of short passages, or at times merely a line, inserted for the purpose already referred to—to add clearness to the description or to bring out some detail more in keeping with the courtly ideal of the author. Several such additions are interesting, as, for example, the allusions to the Bretons (21, 40, 258-260); references to Grimsby and the founding of the town (125-130, 137-142, 791-800); and suggestions of Argentille's prominence (639-643, 975-988, 1047-1053).

As I have said, the differences between Gaimar and the French Lay have been much emphasized, and the occurrence of some identical lines in the two works noted, but the significance of these identical lines and similar passages has, it seems to me, been underestimated, and they have never been investigated with the same thoroughness as the differences. Comparison shows how many such lines and passages there are. The character of these similar passages and their distribution are also to be noted. It is to be observed first of all that the passages are of two kinds: (1) those which represent Gaimar's details with different wording; (2) those which render Gaimar's details with slight change in wording or with no change at all. To the first class belong the following:

25-39, 41-50, 69, 71-73, 116, 117, 131, 134-136, 143-146, 150-156, 194-196, 199, 200, 203-210, 231-234, 241, 242, 244, 251, 252, 264-272, 361, 362, 377-379, 389-393, 397, 398, 409, 410, 413, 420, 422, 428, 435, 436, 442, 445, 457, 458, 466, 468, 475, 537, 547-555, 559, 560, 567-573, 576-579, 584-586, 588, 589, 593, 595-605, 608-614, 621, 622, 625-632, 637, 643-649, 653-667, 695, 698, 702, 704,

706, 709, 711, 714, 715, 717, 718-745, 747, 748, 750-754, 756-775, 778-786, 791-795, 802-807, 811, 812, 816-818, 820-822, 826-834, 841-850, 856, 858, 868-873, 876-878, 881-887, 889-891, 893, 903-912, 914, 915, 917-920, 931-933, 989, 999-1004, 1042, 1046, 1053, 1054, 1060-1064, 1068, 1080 1082, 1084, 1086, 1097.

To the second class belong the following:

110, 111, 115 and two lines following in *Ms. P*, 118-120, 122, 132, 363, 380, 384, 399, 400, 401, 403-408, 411, 412, 414-419, 421, 423-425, 427, 429, 430, 433, 434, 437, 438, 440-444, 446, 449, 450, 454-456, 459-465, 467, 469, 471-473, 482, 483, 539, 540-543, 552, 556, 574, 575, 583, 587, 590-592, 606, 607, 631, 638, 668, 669, 696, 697, 701, 705, 707, 708, 710, 712, 713, 716, 746, 751, 755, 776, 777, 779, 787-790, 796, 808-810, 813-815, 819, 823-825, *P*, 832 and the line following, 835-838, 840, 852, 853, 855, 857, 859, 866, 874, 875, 888, 892, 901, 913, 916, 921, 970, 1005, 1044, 1052, 1055, 1057-1059, 1065-1067, 1069, 1070-1072, 1075-1079, 1083, 1085, 1087, 1089, 1091-1095, 1098-1099, 1100. Total 170 lines.

This number of almost identical lines seems too large to be explained by assuming a common source for Gaimar and the French Lay. It does not seem credible that so many lines could have been taken from a third work by the two authors and have been so faithfully preserved in their poems that there is scarcely more difference at times between the two versions than exists between different manuscripts of the same version.

Moreover, if we regard the arrangement and character of the lines which are similar, we note an interesting fact. The lines occur throughout the poems sometimes singly and at other times in groups. The first large group forms a passage containing lines 397-473, describing Argentille's vision; the second comprises many lines between 1052 and 1100, describing the trick devised by Argentille to win the battle in England. These passages seem to be transferred almost bodily from Gaimar's text. There is scarcely an addition or a change. This fact would indicate that, where the author of the Lay wished to follow Gaimar, he did not hesitate to take the whole passage. Such a passage speaks more strongly for Gaimar as source of the Lay than do isolated lines occasionally found in the poem. It would be far harder to transfer whole passages from a third

work and keep such close resemblance between the two derived poems than to do so in the case of occasional lines. These two longer descriptions—that of the vision and that of the device for winning a battle—the writer evidently did not care to omit, and, since no modification would adapt them better to the spirit of his Lay, he simply used Gaimar's text.

As a further indication that he followed Gaimar's version, compare the three descriptions of the pirates' attack, which occur in the Lay.

LAY

GAIMAR

(111-120)

(427-436)

(A) *Car outlages les encontrerent,
Qui hautement les escrierent.
Mult durement les assaillirent,
Et cil forment se defendirent ;
Mes il eurent poi desforz,
La nef unt robe e mal mise,
E la Reine i fu ossise,
Li outlaghe les ont touz morz.
Ni remist nul petit ne grant
Fors Grim, quert lur conoissant,*

*De utlaghes fumes encontrez :
En mer furent trestuz ruez
Nos chevalers, e nostre gent,
E la reine ensement.
Unc ne guari hom, fors mun pere,
Ne nule femme, fors ma merc,
Mis pere estait lur conussant ;
Pur co guarirent li enfant,
E jo, e vus, e mi dui frere,
Pur la priere de mun pere.*

(603-609)

(B) *Grim nostre pierre senfuit,
Pur toi garrir terre guerpit.
Ta miere fut en mior perie ;
Car nostre nef fut assaillie
De outlaghes, qui nus saisièrent.
Li plus de nostre gent i perirent.
Nous eschapames de la mort.*

(786-790)

(582-588)

(C) *Par mior errames lungement,
De outlaghes fumes assailli,
Ma mere occistrent e ieo garri,

Et li prodoms sen eschapa
Qui me nurrit et mult mama.*

*Com venimes en halt mer,
De uthlages sumes asailliz,
Ma mere i ert, si fu oscise ;
Jo guari, ne sai en quele guise ;
E li prodom en eschapa,
Ki me nuri, e mult mama.*

It is evident that A was based on Gaimar's version, and that Kelloc's speech in the first person was changed to the third person to serve as a description of the events in Denmark for the first part of the Lay. At times the lines are almost identical, even to the extent of introducing the preposterous state-

ment that Grim, a baron in the Lay, and no longer a poor fisherman, was spared because he was the "connoissant" of the pirates. Additional lines show the valor of Havelok's party.

Having expanded Kelloc's speech for the earlier part of his narrative, the author of the Lay puts into Kelloc's mouth merely a short résumé of that speech when she tells Havelok of his birth later on. But Havelok's account of the voyage, as he told it to Sygar, is again Gaimar's version word for word.

As another instance of the careful reworking of Gaimar's details, take Havelok's departure from Grimsby for Denmark. In Gaimar's story, Kelloc and her husband Alger advise Havelok to go to Denmark, and tell him to wait in Grimsby for a favorable wind. They give him clothes, provision the ships, and make the bargain with the merchant. They remain in Grimsby, however, promising to go to Denmark if Havelok sends for them after regaining his kingdom. Havelok thanks them and says that he will reward them. In the Lay, Kelloc's nameless husband, a merchant, himself conducts Havelok. They start for Denmark without delay, and Argentille thanks Kelloc. On arriving in Denmark, they disembark and the merchant husband of Kelloc gives Havelok and his wife clothes, and in a long speech beginning "Biaus filz" tells him what to do. In Gaimar's account Havelok does not even know Sygar's name and probably lines have been left out which tell how Havelok chanced to enter his house at meal time. The author of the Lay tries to make all of this more distinct by having instructions given to Havelok by the merchant. He is to go to Sygar's:

En son chastel va herberger,
Et a sa table va manger,
Par charite quier le conrei ;
Ta femme meine ensemble od tei,
Assez tost te demanderont,
Par la beaute qen lui verront,
Qui tu es, et de quiele contree,
Et qi tiele femme tad donee.

Havelok leaves the merchant and they go wandering until they come to the city of Sygar. They go and ask him for food and shelter. Argentille sits beside Havelok and attracts much attention at the meal. There are no details invented in the scene. Gaimar mentioned a meal that had taken place

before the episode of the throwing of the stones, and he had also mentioned the beauty of Argenville in this connection. Later in the Lay the author uses Gaimar's own words in referring to the meal:

Et a sa table avoit mange,
Ensemble od lui out este. (741-742)

I have selected this passage because it is extremely suggestive. It seems to correspond in a general way to the scene in which Havelok leaves Grimsby the first time, since the counsels, clothes, and speeches appear in both descriptions. Does it not look as if our author had duplicated here his former episode—an episode which he appears to have invented?

Sometimes a single line seems to suggest the same process of readjustment to the Lay. Take for example the two lines which Gaimar uses to denote the place from which Havelok took the "hache" on two occasions.

Prent une hache mult trenchant,
Ken une meison trova pendant. (539-540)

These lines of Gaimar's refer to the weapon used at the time of the fight between Havelok and the men who attacked him. In the Lay the author says:

Quant Haueloc ad recoueree
Une hache trenchante et dure
Ne sai par quele aventure
Un de ceus la tint et porta. (700-703)

It is curious therefore to see that the next time, when the "hache" is used in the house of Sygar at the moment when Havelok thinks he is to be attacked, he finds it in the house:

Une grant hache recouera
(El paleis pendit par vn croc), (866-867)

and it is carefully returned to the same place:

Il li ad la hache rendue;
Et cil lad au croc pendue. (877-878)

In the same scene in Gaimar we read:

Pur une hache volt aler,
Ke iloc teneit un bacheler. (661-662)

The two lines are simply interchanged.

Would it be going too far to see a connection between the lines used by Gaimar in speaking of the departure from Grimsby and those of the Lay? Havelok says to Argentille in *G*:

Diloc turnai quant jo vinc ci (308)

and to Kelloc:

Ci laissai

Mun parente quant men turnai. (365-366)

And again Gaimar makes Havelok say:

Quant furent mort, si men turnai. (591)

In the Lay where the circumstances are changed and Grim is represented as still alive, Havelok says:

La les lassai quant ieo vinc ci, (540)

and

Quant ieo fui grant ieo men parti. (801)

Reviewing these results, I am convinced that the basis of the French Lay is Gaimar's account of the Havelok tale in the *Estorie*, since no other source could explain the great number of similar passages and the overwhelming number of almost identical lines. The detailed investigation of a few similar passages not only corroborates the testimony given by the many similar lines but suggests a very interesting study—the consideration of the author's ideal of a lay and his method of transferring and transforming Gaimar's material in order to bring it into conformity with that ideal.

The Composition of the *Lai d'Haveloc*

In considering the spirit in which the author of the *Lai d'Haveloc* adapted the material found in Gaimar's *Estorie* to a poem with a prologue, an epilogue, and allusions to the Bretons and to an earlier lay which they had made on the subject, we are led to ask what were the ideals of his time and what the literary influences to which he might have responded.

But first we should know, as precisely as possible, the date of the Lay. Heretofore we have given the general date mentioned by Deutschbein and others, the second half of the twelfth century.¹ It has been shown in the present study that the Lay was not earlier than the second half of the twelfth century, since Gaimar's *Estorie* was composed between 1147 and 1151. Can we draw any conclusions from the poem itself that will show how late in the second half of the twelfth century the Lay was written?

In the second half of that century the short narrative poems called lays were flourishing in England as they were a little later in France, and as our author chose that form for his story we turn naturally to the consideration of these lays. The oldest and best of them were those of Marie de France, and we know how popular her collection of lays was from the number of manuscripts and translations of them that have come down to us,² from the testimony of her rather jealous contemporary Denys Piramus,³ and from the imitations of her stories that abound in the later anonymous lays.⁴

Although there has been much discussion as to the date of Marie's collection, Warnke, the authority on the subject, decided in favor of the year 1165,⁵ and his date is generally followed. Warnke thinks also that Marie probably introduced

¹ See p. 6.

² Warnke, 2d ed., 1900, Halle, *Die Lais der Marie de France*, pp. xxxviii-xli.

³ Denys Piramus, *La vie Seint Edmund le rei*, ed. Ravenel, 1906, Philadelphia, p. 58.

⁴ Foulet, *Zt. f. rom. Phil.*, 1905, XXIX, 19-56, 292-322.

⁵ Warnke, *op. cit.* p. xxxv.

the lay into literature. He says:⁶ "Keins der anonymen Lais scheint älter zu sein als die Sammlung der Marie . . . So ist trotz aller laut gewordenen Zweifel die Ansicht vielleicht doch nicht von der Hand zu weisen, dass Marie die Gattung der Lais in die Litteratur eingeführt hat. Nach dem Prolog, V. 28, gedachte die Dichterin wenigstens einen Weg einzuschlagen, der vor ihr noch unbetreten war." The study of the anonymous lays by Foulet has confirmed this opinion.⁷

Marie, in the Prologue to her collection, explains what her lays are to be:⁸

Des lais pensai qu'oïz aveie.
Ne dutai pas, bien le saveie,
que pur remembrance les firent
des aventures qu'il oïrent
cil ki primes les comencierent
e ki avant les enveierent.
Plusurs en ai oïz conter,
nes vueil laissier ne obliër.
Rimé en ai e fait ditié,
soventes feiz en ai veillié. (33-42)

In *Guigemar* she says:

Les contes que jo sai verais,
dunt li Bretun unt fait les lais,
vos conterai assez briefment, (19-21)

and in the epilogue of the same lay, she adds:

De cest cunte qu'oï avez
fu Guigemar li lais trovez,
que hum dit en harpe e en rote;
bone en est a oïr la note. (883-886)

But it is in the prologue to *Equitan* that she explains most fully her idea of the Bretons and their lays. She says:

Mult unt esté noble barun
cil de Bretaigne, li Bretun.
Jadis suleient par pruësce,
par curteisie e par noblesce
des aventures que ocient,
ki a plusurs genz avencieient,
faire les lais pur remembrance,
qu'um nes meist en ubliance. (1-3)

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xxxvii.

⁷ Foulet, *op. cit.*

⁸ Warnke, p. 4. All the citations from Marie are taken from this second edition of Warnke's.

According to Marie's statements then, the ancient Bretons, when an interesting and notable adventure occurred in their midst, made a lay about it which they executed to harp or rote. Marie says that she is about to relate these adventures. This conception of a Breton lay is certainly a curious one, which would have needed a word of explanation from an author to make it understood by his contemporary public. Now if the expression *Li Bretun en firent un lai*, which she used, had been current in the literature of her time, Marie would not have found so much explanation necessary. On the other hand, if the *Lai d'Havelok* had been written before 1165, the author would have had to make some general remarks on the Bretons, their customs, and their lays, in order to have made the phrase clear and effective. What then do we find in *Havelok* about the Bretons and their lays? We note the following points:

(1) The author himself nowhere speaks of his poem as a Breton lay.

(2) He does not say that he himself ever heard this Breton lay which he mentions.

(3) The statement he makes is merely the following: the Bretons made a lay about it.

Purceo vus voil de lui conter,
Et sauenture remembrer;
Que vn lai en firent li Breton,
Si lappellerent de son non
Et Haueloc et Cuarant, (Prol. 19-23)

and

Li auncien par remembrance
Firent vn lai de sa victoire. (Epil. 1102-1103)

(4) He does not say that the lay was a musical one. We may regard this as implied, however, since we know what a Breton lay was from Marie's careful explanation. Without her words the line of *Havelok* would not be clear.

(5) There are four other allusions to the Bretons or Bretagne in the poem, but these passages do not refer to the Breton lays. The Bretons have had nothing to do with the story of *Havelok* as we know it from Gaimar, our author's source, and the more closely the line *que un lai en firent li Breton* is examined, the more external and artificial does it seem. It strikes

one as a mere formula introduced into a poem composed of prologue, epilogue, and "aventure." The conventionality of the phrase has long since been pointed out. Kittredge⁹ said of Havelok, "It will not do to be too positive, however, that *Havelok* ever passed through Breton hands. The question is difficult and has never been adequately discussed. Madden, in his elaborate introduction,¹⁰ dismisses it with scant notice. Wright¹¹ remarks that the term 'Breton lay' had become almost proverbial, and adds that it is not at all likely that Havelok ever existed in a Breton version." Lot¹² expressed the suspicion that the term "Breton lay" was conventional, "dès l'époque de Marie de France"; and four years later¹³ in replying to Brugger in the discussion of the meaning of the words Breton and Bretagne, he referred to his former article and added: "J'aurais dû insister sur ce point . . . Je trouve encore un exemple du caractère conventionnel de l'expression *lai breton* dans *Haveloc*. Tout le monde sait que le *Lai d'Haveloc le Danois* a pour source une saga scandinave. Cela n'empêche qu'on ne trouve au début: *Un lai en firent li Breton (sic)*." It is interesting to find that these scholars felt the lack of sincerity in these phrases although they did not recognize the Lay to be a mere reworking of Gaimar's version.

Warnke,¹⁴ although he feels that the existing French Lay may be dependent on Gaimar, does not admit the conventionality of the expression *que un lai en firent li Breton* but combats the arguments of Lot. He believes that among the Armoricans who came to England in the train of William the Conqueror, there were certainly Armorican minstrels, who seized upon the native traditions to enrich their repertories, and that in this way a musical lay, *Havelok*, came into existence. He says that in the prologue and epilogue the author speaks with such insistence of a Breton lay called *Havelok* that it is impossible to doubt the existence of such a lay. But Warnke's position is made less forcible by the fact that he acknowledges that

⁹ *Amer. Journ. of Phil.*, 1886, VII, p. 184.

¹⁰ Madden, ed. pp. v-vi.

¹¹ Wright, *Chronicles of G. Gaimar*, ed. for Caxton Society, app. p. 3.

¹² Lot, *Rom.* XXIV, p. 527.

¹³ Lot, *Rom.* XXVIII, p. 42, n. 3.

¹⁴ Warnke, *op. cit.* pp. ix-xvii.

perhaps this musical Breton lay had no direct connection with the narrative *Lai d'Haveloc*. His answers to Lot are by no means convincing. They will be referred to later in considering the meaning of the word *Breton*. But whether the Bretons made a lay on Havelok or not, the statement in our Lay that they did so is significant. If our author introduced these words regarding the Bretons into a poem treating matters foreign to them, he must have done so with a purpose. He may have thought the phrase a necessary part of the lay, the literary form which he was adopting. His use of the unexplained conventional phrase shows, at least, that both he and his contemporaries were already familiar not only with the expression itself, but also with the narrative lay—that is, a short metrical romance purporting to narrate the adventure on which the Bretons had made a musical lay. Therefore it seems reasonable to suppose that the *Lai d'Haveloc* is later than the *Lais* of Marie, where, as we have seen, the phrase is explained at length. The *Lai d'Haveloc* in that case is later than 1165.

If, however, this conclusion is well founded, can it be that our author escaped Marie's influence? He too wished to tell a story or adventure in the form of a lay, and it is possible and even probable that he here and there followed Marie, since her *Lais* had become very popular. It is also possible that her success in writing *Lais* inspired, not his adoption of Gaimar's story, but the idea of treating the material taken from Gaimar according to a certain ideal, following the rules of a certain literary form. Is it possible, then, to find in Havelok the type of Guigemar or some other hero of Marie's *Lais*? Traces of the influence of Marie will be sought (A) in the external form of the poem, (a) in the prologue, (b) in the epilogue, (c) in the geography, and (d) in the allusions to the Bretons; (B) in the author's treatment of the story, (a) in the modifications of actual events of the tale, (b) in the minor details of description or general changes of tone.

(A) THE EXTERNAL FORM OF HAVELOK

(a) Prologue

It is interesting to note that the first line of the Havelok prologue is identical with the opening words of Marie's Prologue to Guigemar¹⁵ as found in Ms. P.¹⁶

GUIGEMAR Ms. P

- 1 *Volentiers deuroit on oir*
- 2 cose quist boine a retenir
- 3 ki de boine matere est faite
- 4 mout me poise se nest bien faite
- 5 Oëz, seignur, que dit Marit,
- 6 qen en son tens nus ne soublit
- 7 Celui deivent les genz loër,
- 8 ki en bien fait de lui parler,
- 9 Mais quant oent en un pais
- 10 home ne femme de grant pris,
- 11 cil ki de sun bien unt envie
- 12 sovent en dient vileinie,
- 13 Sun pris li vuelent abaissier :
- 14 pur ceo comencent le mestier
- 15 ceo est lur dreiz de mesparler.
- 16 Li contes que sai est verais,
- 17 dunt li Bretun unt fait lor lais,
- 18 Si conterai assez briefment.
- 19 El chief de cest commencement
- 20 Sulunc la letre e l'escriture
- 21 Vos conterai une aventure,
- 22 ki en Bretagne la Menur
- 23 avint al tens anciënur,

HAVELOK

- 1 *Volenters deuroit lom oir,*
- 2 Et reconter et retenir,
- 3 Les nobles fez as anciens,
- 4 Et les prouesses et les biens,¹⁷
- 5 Essamples prendre et remembrer
- 6 Pur les francs homes amender.
- 7 Vilainies et mesprisions,
- 8 Ceo deureit estre li sermons
- 9 Dont lom se deust chastier ;
- 10 Car mult iad mauueis mester.
- 11 Chescuns se garde come pur soi
- 12 Lauenture dun riche roi,
- 13 Et de plusurs autres barons,
- 14 Dont ico vus nomerai les nons ;
- 15 Assez briefment le vus dirrai,¹⁸
- 16 Lauenture vus conterai.
- 17 Haveloc fut cil roi nome,
- 18 Et Cuaran est appelle.
- 19 Purceo vus voil de lui conter,
- 20 Et sauenture remembrer ;
- 21 Que vn lai en firent li Breton,
- 22 Si lappellerent de son non
- 23 Et Haveloc et Cuarant.

The two prologues resemble each other in the following particulars: (1) their first lines are identical as is the rhyme-word *retenir* in the second. (2) ~~Each begins in a different manner~~ from Marie's other lays. Instead of giving information about

¹⁵ This was pointed out by Warnke, p. 226, and suggested the closer examination of the two prologues.

¹⁶ Paris, Bib. nat., franç. 2168, a Picard Ms. of the second half of the 13th century containing Guimar, Yonec, and Lanyal. In this manuscript the prologue is incomplete and obscure, but, of course, the author may have had at his disposal a complete and clear manuscript of the same family.

¹⁷ Common to other lays. Cf. *Espervier*, Rom. VII, p. 3, Car qui bien i voudroit entendre Maint bon essample i porroit prendre (9-10).

¹⁸ Cf. *Espervier*, Rom. VII, l. 29.

the lay in question, or some remark on lays in general, each of these prologues opens with a moralizing observation. Marie soon becomes personal, names herself and then refers to her slanderers. The author of *Havelok* makes the banal statement that we should gladly hear and tell of good deeds to make men better, and of evil ones to warn the bad. The actions of *Havelok* and of the other "barons" in the story will serve both ends. (3) The sense of these two passages of *Havelok* and Marie is different, but it looks as if the second part of the reflection in the prologue of *Havelok* had been suggested by the "vilainie" and "mestier" in lines 12 and 14 of *Guigemar*. (4) Lines 15, 16, 21 of *Havelok* correspond respectively with lines 18, 21, 17 of *Guigemar*. Marie, as we have seen, was explicit just where our author uses a phrase which must have been already current. She carefully explains to the public what he takes for granted is understood by his contemporaries. Evidently she could not have imitated *Havelok*. Hence these points of similarity between the two prologues point to Marie as the inspiration of the opening lines of the *Lai d'Havelok*. If the other epilogues and prologues of Marie's are compared with *Havelok*, there may be found in the latter poem other echoes of her *Lais*.

EQUITAN

Jadis suleient par pruesce,
par curteisie e par noblesce
des aventures que oeient,
ki a plusurs genz avencient,
faire les lais pur remembrance,
qu'um nes meist en ubliance. (3-8)
Ki bien voldreit raisun entendre,
ici purreit ensample prendre;
(313-314)

HAVELOK

Les nobles fez as anciens,
Et les prouesses et les biens, (3-4)
Essamples prendre & remembrer
Pur les francs homes amender. (5-6)

Havelok (20) *Et sauenture remembrer* is the same in substance as *Equitan* (5 and 7). Compare *Havelok* (14) *Dont ieo vus numerai les nons* with *Le Fraisme* (255) *Ici vus numerai sun nun*, with *Milun* (22) *Mes jeo ne sai numer sun nun*, with *Chaitivel* (4-5) *e la cite vus numerai u il fu nez, e cum ot nun*, and (34) *mes jeo ne sai numer lur nuns*.

Several other lines of the prologue are paralleled by lines of Marie's *Lais*; 17, 18, 22, and 23 are expressed in the same manner as those in which she insists on the name of her hero

or of the lay. None of Marie's heroes has two names, but two of her lays have a double title. Thus the last two lines of the prologue of *Havelok* remind us of *Eliduc*:

D'eles dous a li lais a nun
 Guildeluëc ha Guilliadun.
 'Eliduc' fu primes nomez,
 Mes ore est li nuns remuëz, (21-24)

and also of two lines of *Chaitivel*,

'Le Chaitivel' l'apelë hum,
 e si i a plusurs de cels
 ki l'apelent 'Les Quatre Doels.' (6-8)

In the entire prologue of the *Lai d'Havelok*, there is scarcely anything original. It is a skillful combination of ideas and expressions gleaned from the prologues and epilogues of Marie's *Lais*, with especial imitation of the prologue of *Guigemar*, which furnished the plan for the whole prologue.

(b) The epilogue

HAVELOK

Mult fu de li grant parlançe;
 Li auncien par remembrance
 Firent vn lai de sa victoire,
 Qe touz iors en soit memoire.
 Ceo fut le lai de Coarant,
 Qui mult fut prouz et vaillant.¹⁹ (1101-1106)

The sense of this passage corresponds closely with that of *Eliduc*:

De l'aventure de ces treis
 li ancien Bretun curteis
 firent le lai pur remembrer,
 qu'un nel deüst pas obliër.

of adventure of these 3
 the old Bretons of courtesy
 made the lai to remember
 that none should not forget. (1181-1184)

In her epilogues, Marie twice refers to the popularity of the "aventure." It became known, and a lay was made concerning it by the Bretons. Compare with *Havelok* (1101 ff.) *Laüstic*:

Cele aventure fu cuntee,
 ne pot estre lunges celee.
 Un lai en firent li Bretun,
 le Laüstic l'apelë hum, (157-160)

¹⁹ In Ms. *P* of the Lay, lines 1105-1106 are not found.

and *Le Fraisine*:

Quant l'aventure fu seüe
coment ele esteit avenue,
le lai del Fraisine en unt trové:
pur la dame l'unt si numé. (533-536)

There are traces of the phraseology of other epilogues of Marie. The words *furent un lai li auncien* or *li Bretun* occur in nearly all of them. Compare *Milun*:

De lur amur e de lur bien,
furent un lai li anciën. (531-532)

The idea of commemorating the adventure and of preserving the memory of it is found in the *Lais* also:

pur les paroles remembrer,
Tristram, ki bien saveit harper,
en aveit fet un nuvel lai. (Chiev. 111-113)

In the epilogue of many of her poems, Marie again names the title,²⁰ and we find the same repetition in *Havelok*. In the prologue the author had stated that the lay was called both "Have-loc and Cuarant." In the epilogue, he says:

Ceo fut le lai de Coarant,
Qui mult fut prouz et vaillant.

Marie's influence on the epilogue is therefore obvious.

(c) Geographical details

These details correspond in general to those of Gaimar's text although they are not so abundant. They are as follows. (1) Grim lands at Grimsby, as in Gaimar's account.²¹ The author of the Lay adds *el North*.²² (2) Alsì's court is at Nicole. Grim has told Havelok to go to Engleterre to the court of a rich king,²³ and we find that Nicole is the seat of the court.

²⁰ Cf. *Guig.*, *Cbait.*, *Le Fraisine*, *Eq.*, *Chiev.*, *Elid.*, *Laüs.*, *D. Am.*, and *Bisc.*

²¹ Gaimar shows by 604, 329, 307, 617 how the words used by Kelloc *en cest pais* are to be interpreted.

²² Ceo fut el North, a Grimesbi (125).

²³ 173.

This is not expressly stated in Gaimar, but it may be easily inferred from the *Estorie*.

Sue (Edelsi's) ert Nicole e Lindeseie, (50)
 E Argentille fu norie
 A Nicole, e en Lindeseie. (93-94)

The author of the Lay was probably desirous of naming a city as the assembling place of the court, just as Marie mentioned Arthur's gathering at Kardoeil,²⁴ or Marc's at Tintagel.²⁵ (3) The kingdoms of the two English kings are practically the same, although the terms of the description vary.

LAY

Un roi qert nome Alsi
 Tenoit en la terre en sa baillie,
 Nicole e tote Lindesie,
 Cele partie vers le north;
 Et Rotelande et Stanford
 Out cil Alsi en heritage. (194-199)

GAIMAR

Li altres out nun Edelsie;
 Sue ert Nicole e Lindeseie;²⁶
 Des Humbre desken Roteland
 Ert le pais en son comant. (49-52)

Rutland and Stamford mark the southern boundary of his kingdom, North Lindsey the northern, and these terms describe the same territory as does Gaimar's line: *Des Humbre desken Roteland*. (4) There is less similarity in the descriptions of the dominion of Ekenbright's.

LAY

Le roiaume vers les Surois
 Gouvernoit vns autres rois;
 Ekenbright out cil rois a non.
 (201-203)

GAIMAR

Li altre ert reis de la contree
 Ki ore est Nortfolc apelee. (52-53)
 En Denemarche le regnez
 Aweit quatre riches contez,
 E en Bretaigne aweit conquis
 Cair Coel od tut le pais
 De Colecestre tresken Hoiland
 Durout son realme en un tenant.
 (71-76)

The expression *vers les Surois* is not clear.²⁷ Heyman says:²⁸ "If by 'les Surois' is meant the population of Surrey, which in the English translation of the *Lai d'Haveloc* is considered doubtful, this would be much further South than is indicated

²⁴ *Lanval*, 5-18.

²⁵ *Chiev.*, 39-40.

²⁶ Skeat, ed. 1902, p. xl, "The Northern part of Lincolnshire is called Lindsey."

²⁷ Ward, *op. cit.* p. 450; and Gaimar's *Estorie*, II, 221.

²⁸ Heyman, *op. cit.* p. 61.

by Gaimar." It seems possible, however, that *vers les Surois* means simply toward the people of Surrey or southward from Alsi's kingdom, and that the *Surois* was brought in to furnish a rhyme with *rois*. The conception of the author probably does not differ materially from that of Gaimar, since he stated that Alsi returned the kingdom to Argentille:

Tote sa terre li rendit
Que Ekenbright tint tant come il vesquit.
De Holande desquen Gloucestre.²⁹ (1083-1085)
(Ms. P Colesestre)

(5) A few of Gaimar's names are omitted, as Cair Coel (74), Teford (80), the place of Adelbright's death, and Colecestre (81), that of his burial. (6) The Lay, on the other hand, contains two items of information not found in Gaimar, that the battle against Alsi was fought at Teford (1027), and that Havelok landed at Carleflure (996).

These slight variations do not point to different sources of information, but are arbitrary changes made by the author of the Lay, who in other geographical information conformed to Gaimar's account. He simply transferred the Teford³⁰ mentioned by Gaimar (80) to the description of the battle. Perhaps he wished to give the name of the place of combat, because Marie several times gave the locality of tournaments or contests.³¹ He found no Danish cities mentioned by Gaimar, and did not invent a name for the places where Havelok and Hodulf fought. The one new name introduced by him is Carleflure,³² the English place where Havelok landed (996). This may be due to Marie's custom of naming harbors in some of the lays:

A Suhthamptune vait passer ;
Cum il ainz pot se mist en mer,
A Barbeffuet est arivez ;
dreit en Bretagne en est alez. (Milun, 317-320)²¹⁷⁻²²

²⁹ These lines correspond to Gaimar's Rendu li fut tut li regne, Des Hoiland treska Colecestre (804-805), but had the author of the Lay had a different territory in mind, he would probably have omitted or changed the passage.

³⁰ Tetford, not far from Horncastle, England, according to Skeat, ed. 1902, p. xliii, n. 3.

³¹ *Lais*: *Milun* (385) El Munt Seint Michiel s'assemblerent ; *Cbait*. (73-74) Que devant Nantes la cité ot un turneiment crié ; in *Eliduc*, the city of Excestre is attacked (91).

³² Skeat, ed. 1902, xlii, n. 2 : "Possibly Saltfleet, suggests Mr. Haigh. Such, at least, is the position required by the circumstances."

It will be noted that the changes which the author of the Lay makes in Gaimar's geography are very slight. They may be due to the influence of Marie's *Lais*.

(d) The allusions to the Bretons

The narrative of Gaimar contains only one allusion to the Bretons; the English Lay does not mention them; the *Lai d'Haveloc* refers to them four times as follows:

- 1 Quant Arthur out finie sa guerre,
Hodulf dona tote la terre
Puis sen ala od ses Bretons ; (40)
- 2 Nicole et tote Lindesie,
Et Rotelande et Stanford
Out cil Alsi en heritage ;
Mes il estoit Bret par lignage. (202)
- 3 Fetes la loignz enmener
En Bretaigne, dela la mer,
Et a vos parenz comander ; (317)
- 4 Cuaran lapelloient tuit ;
Car ceo tenoient li Breton 76)
En lur language quistrion. (259)

Since Gaimar's story furnished the material for the Lay, it is evident that three of these passages must have been introduced arbitrarily by the author of the Lay. Gaimar gave a suggestion for 2, but the sense of Breton in the Lay and in Gaimar seems to be slightly different. Gaimar, who had discussed the Danes and Angles in England, and had mentioned the Angles as responsible for the change of the name Bretaigne, wrote of the reign of Arthur's nephews, and added that the Danes hated them. He then proceeded to relate the story of two kings who reigned in England at that time, the one a Dane, the other a Breton—a Celtic inhabitant of England in Arthur's time.

The author of the Lay does not say that Adelbriht was a Dane. He does not refer to Constantine or give a clue to the period. He follows in general Gaimar's geographical information concerning the extent of the two kingdoms, and adds in regard to that of Alsi:

Mes il estoit Bret par lignage.

The expression "par lignage" strikes one as perhaps implying a shade of meaning different from that of Gaimar's unqualified "Bret," because of *Mes*; it is possible, however, that the phrase applied to Adelbriht in Gaimar's account suggested the words in the Lay. Adelbriht was "del lignage as Daneis," and the phrase may have simply been transferred to Alsi in the Lay. Even if the phrase is to be explained in this way, the entire line still leaves an impression that makes us suspect that Gaimar's conception of "Bret," a Celtic inhabitant of England, is not quite that of the author of the Lay. We could think that Alsi was a Celt living in England in Arthur's time unless told that he was a Dane or an Angle. It is therefore with surprise that we note the word *Mes*, which apparently denotes that there is something unusual in the statement following. What is then the idea of "Breton" conveyed in the Lay by the author, who may have been a Norman, an Anglo-Norman, or a Frenchman who was living in England in the twelfth century?³³

The question of the meaning of "Breton" in the twelfth century is one which has given rise to heated discussion. It is perhaps best to recall briefly the main lines of the controversy before applying the results of it to *Havelok*. As Warnke points out in his preface to the *Lais* of Marie de France, students of Old French literature gave the words Breton and Bretagne the natural interpretation of contemporary Armorican, without further thought, until Wolf,³⁴ Gaston Paris,³⁵ and Bédier³⁶ questioned whether the words did not also denote the inhabitants of England who were Celts, especially the Welsh. There came to be three groups of scholars, those who interpreted the words as Armorican and Armorica, those who interpreted them as Welsh, and those who combined the two theories holding that the words were applied to both the Armorican and the Welsh.

Zimmer,³⁷ in reviewing the article in which Gaston Paris

³³ Suchier says of the author of *Havelok* (*op. cit.* p. 124): "Er dichtete vielleicht in England, jedoch in reinem Französisch, war also vom Festland gebürtig."

³⁴ Wolf, *Ueber die Lais, Sequenzen und Leiche*, Heidelberg, 1841, p. 251.

³⁵ Gaston Paris, *Romania*, VIII, 36; *Histoire litt. de la France*, XXX, p. 3; *La Littérature normande avant l'annexion*, Paris, 1889, p. 14.

³⁶ Bédier, *Les Lais de Marie de France*, *Revue de deux mondes*, 18 Oct., 1891, 835-864.

³⁷ Zimmer, *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1890, I, 794 ff.

expressed his views, after a study of many of Marie's Lays, asserted that it was impossible to derive the "matière de Bretagne" from either the Cymri or the Welsh. But it became necessary for him to show how those lays which had their scenes laid in England could have come from the Armoricans, whom he considered the only Celts concerned with the transmission of Breton material. He showed that Brittany and Normandy had been closely united politically from the tenth century, and pointed out that near the boundary line of the two provinces there existed a speech district where Norman and Breton were both spoken. He also noted that many Bretons, among them some of these bilingual Bretons, had gone to England with the Normans. They were conversant with French before going to England and had transferred their native legends to the Normans and Anglo-Normans on the continent and in England. Zimmer also indicated how they confused the geography of the Breton material by transferring the scenes of their own legends to England.

Lot³⁸ disagreed with Zimmer about many of the Lays. He examined them again, noting the context, and decided that a large number of them could not be adapted to Zimmer's theory. They were in part Welsh.

Bédier³⁹ more recently explained how these Armoricans came into possession of the Welsh legends, and stated that they recognized the relationship existing between these tales and their own, and combined them so that through their work the "matière de Bretagne" is the product of the fusion of the Armorican and Welsh legends.

The second stage of the discussion was reached when Brugger⁴⁰ defined "Breton" with more precision. According to him there were in the twelfth century two uses of the word: (1) the ordinary meaning of a contemporary Armorican; (2) the archaic sense of a Breton of Arthur's time. Brugger does not especially discuss the archaic sense of the word in the rest of his article which is devoted to proving that "Breton" in the twelfth century documents examined meant a contemporary

³⁸ Lot, *Etudes sur la provenance du cycle arthurien*, *Romania*, XXIV, 497-528, XXV, 1-33.

³⁹ Bédier, *Le roman de Tristan par Thomas*, *Soc. d. anc. textes fr.*, II, 127.

⁴⁰ Brugger, *Über die Bedeutung von Bretagne, Breton*, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur*, 1898, XX, 79-162.

Armorican. However, he put the whole controversy on a different basis by introducing a time element. It was no longer enough to distinguish between a Welshman and an Armorican; one had to decide between a twelfth century man and a Breton of Arthur's time.

Lot⁴¹ was quick to see the bearing of this on Brugger's theory of the interpretation of the word as Armorican, and, applying the new definitions to the Lays, he contended that the word Bretons in this literature certainly had the vague, retrospective sense of Bretons of Arthur's period. He now proclaimed with confidence the conventionality of the term "breton lai," which he had suggested before.

Warnke,⁴² in his introduction to the lays of Marie de France, opposed Lot. His arguments do not seem to me convincing.

⁴¹ Lot, *Nouveaux Essais sur la provenance du cycle arthurien*, Romania, 1899, XXVIII, 1-48.

⁴² Warnke, *op. cit.* pp. ix-xi. To substantiate his theory, Lot gave the following reasons (pp. 41-42, n. 4). (1) The words "Bretons en firent un lai" is always in a past tense. (2) In passages of *Eliduc* and *Milun* the Bretons are specified as "li ancien." (3) Marie's words confirm this view.

Or sont dites e racontées,
de latin en romanz trovees ;
Bretons en firent lais plusors,
Si con dient nos *ancestors*.

Warnke (pp. ix-x) objects to the first reason on the ground that only a past tense could be used whether the Bretons were contemporaries or ancient musicians. In cases where a present tense could be used, it was employed. Cf. *Guingamor* (678), *Einsi l'apelent li Bretun*, and *Tydorel* (489) :

Cest conte tient a verai
li Breton qui en firent le lai.

These Bretons must be contemporaries. In the second place *Tydorel* offers an instance of Lai nouvel, thus showing that no importance can be attached to these expressions which the author used arbitrarily to enhance the value of his poem. Thirdly Warnke says the lines quoted by Lot are not Marie's but come from *Tyolet* (33 ff.), and like other lines of the prologue do not contribute testimony of weight since the author of *Tyolet* probably did not use the "harfenlied" *Tyolet* for his poem. Foulet (*Marie de France et les lais bretons*, p. 320) criticizes Warnke's first two points. He says that "einsi l'apelent li Bretun" may well refer to a written source and denote a time "très reculé dans le passé." Compare the last line of the *Tyolet* quotation. He also states that no information regarding the Bretons can be drawn from *Tydorel* since it is a late lay, much more recent than those of Marie. In his third objection, Foulet says that Warnke was right in giving *Tyolet* as the source of the quotation, and in denying that the words are a legitimate source of information about the Bretons.

On the other hand, it seems to me that a kind of testimony in favor of Lot's theory does emanate from these lines of *Tyolet*. Foulet (pp. 48-52) shows

He took into consideration those lays which had heretofore been omitted or merely mentioned in the discussion. The one which he had most difficulty in adapting to his theory was the *Lai d'Havelok*, because he had to deal there with a Scandinavian legend entirely foreign to the Bretons, and one which originated in the north of England. How could contemporary Armoricans have transmitted that legend to the Anglo-Norman author of the Lay? Warnke⁴³ had recourse to what seems to be for *Havelok* a forced and unnatural process. The steps of it are as follows:

Armorica and Normandy were closely united politically and geographically, and Armoricans shared in the conquest of England.

In 1066 they fought at Senlac with William the Conqueror.

They were rewarded with fiefs after the victory and settled in many parts of England, especially in Yorkshire, and in that part of northern England which was the locality of the *Havelok* legend.

Among these Armoricans there were doubtless minstrels who must have come in contact with the *Havelok* story.

It is undeniable that other minstrels came over in the next century. These would have come in contact with the earlier ones, who had gone to Yorkshire.

The older generations of minstrels would have transmitted to these successive generations of twelfth century minstrels English legends with which to enrich their repertoires. In this way the story of *Havelok* would have come into the possession of these twelfth century Armoricans.

The whole explanation is far-fetched. It is complicated and consists of hypothesis after hypothesis offered in an effort to save the Armorican theory by showing that it applies to *Have-*

that *Tyolet* is a compilation of an episode of *Tristan*, modified by Marie's *Lanval*, with parts of Chretien's *Graal*. The prologue is a servile imitation of Marie's prologue including a mistaken interpretation of her words. The author does not state that he has heard the lay *Tyolet*, or that he knew the Bretons made one. He says he has it at second hand "si com dient nos ancessors." The *ancessors* in this case were invented. With this author, at least, the phrase was an entirely conventional one.

⁴³ Warnke, *op. cit.* pp. xv-xvii.

lok too. To show that Armoricans transmitted the material in the twelfth century, it was necessary to suppose first that the Armorican minstrels who penetrated to the part of England where the *Havelok* legend was found came into contact with the legend at the time of the conquest. But these Armoricans were not twelfth century men, so that we must conceive of their passing the legend on to generation after generation of newly arrived Armorican minstrels who finally gave it to the Anglo-Normans who arrived in the twelfth century. But a vital part of Warnke's conception of the lays is the relation between the narrative lay and the musical lay of the Bretons on the same subject. Warnke therefore added the statement that *Havelok* was also in all probability the subject of a musical lay. He said: "So wird es denn in der That, wie der Dichter des französischen Gedichtes behauptet, ein bretonisches Harfenlied von *Havelok* dem Dänen gegeben haben, wenn auch die französischen Darstellungen nicht direkt auf dieses Harfenlied zurückgehen sollten." So the musical lay which "probably existed" has perhaps no connection with our lay. To say that there was such a lay simply because it is stated in this poem that the Bretons made a lay on *Havelok*, seems to be forcing a point, and to add that this musical lay had perhaps no connection with the narrative lay weakens the whole argument.

Warnke had, as we can see, a hard position to maintain in the case of the *Lai d'Haveloc*, because this poem is not compatible with his theory of the Breton lays. But if Warnke has to yield to Lot and agree that in the case of *Havelok*, at least, the expression *Li Breton en firent un lai* is purely conventional, his whole theory is in danger. If the words are artificial in one lay, doubt creeps in as to the sincerity of them in other lays. Is the testimony given by the allusions to the Bretons in *Havelok* in favor of Lot's theory of the vaguely remote Bretons of Arthur's kingdom, or does it confirm Warnke's interpretation of contemporary Armorican? One may judge from the following analysis.

Reviewing the allusions to the Bretons which are contained in the Lay, we see that the sense of 2, that Edelsi was *Bret par lignage*, becomes clear from 3. The counsellors advise that Argentille be sent from England to "Bretaigne dela la mer."

⁴⁴ Warnke, p. xvi.

This must be Armorica, and as her relatives are there, Edelsi was probably also an Armorican. *Bret* is used here in the ordinary sense of contemporary Armorican.

Point 1 does not lend itself to this meaning. Arthur went away from Denmark *od ses Bretons*—the old Arthurian Bretons of a distant past. Hence we have here the second meaning.

It might be possible to interpret 4 as Armorican, because, since the first line reads *Cuaran l'appelloient tuit*, one might expect that *tuit* meant those surrounding Edelsi, the Armorican. On the other hand, the references may be to the vague old Bretons, who made a lay on the subject, and whom we know as *li auncien*.⁴⁵

It might be imagined that the name *Cuaran* would give us a valuable clue. Curiously enough no word *Cuaran* corresponding to *quistrun* has been found. Skeat⁴⁶ says: "This surname is Celtic; and Anlaf Curan signifies 'Anlaf with the brogue'; from the Irish and Gael, *cuaran*, explained by Macleod as 'a sock, a brogue of untanned leather or skin, commonly worn with the hairy side outwards,' cf. Welsh, *cwrn*, a buckskin. The surname is easily explained from Anlaf's connexion with Ireland. . . . This epithet is important, as it is the very one applied to Havelok in the French versions of the story. Gaimar spells it Cuheran, and adds (l. 105)—'Cil Cuheran estait quistrun,' i.e. This Cuheran was a scullion, or kitchen-servant; precisely as in our poem, ll. 903-970. The author of the other French version . . . somewhat mistakes the matter, imagining that *Curan* had the meaning of 'scullion,' which is not the case. . . . This is, of course, a slip; but the Celtic origin of the name is nevertheless perceived. It does not, however, occur in the English version."

A comparison with Marie's Lays, however, explains the passage, and shows that there was probably no misunderstanding on the part of the author. Gaimar's lines and the hero's two names gave an opportunity to explain the names in a passage doubtless inspired by the following lines of Marie's.

Bisclavret a nun en Bretan,
Garulf l'apelent li Norman. (*Bisclavret*, 3-4)

⁴⁵ *Havelok*, 1102.

⁴⁶ Skeat, ed. 1902, p. xxxvii.

Une aventure vus dirai,
 dunt li Bretun firent un lai.
 Laüstic a nun, ceo m'est vis,
 Si l'apelent en lur pais;
 Ceo est russignol en Franceis
 E nibtegele en dreit Engleis. (*Laüstic*, 1-6)

'Gotelef' l'apelent Engleis,
 'Chievrefueil' le nument Franceis. (*Chiev.* 115-116)

En Bretanz l'apelent Lanval. (*Lanval*, 4)

We have evidently in this fourth allusion, another fiction concerning the Bretons.⁴⁷

If our author could insert in his poem a passage such as this, the probabilities are that the language to which he makes allusion was an old one and not the contemporary idiom of the Welsh or Armoricans. Furthermore the fact that he has used indiscriminately the different meanings of Breton shows that he felt no distinction, and that the phrases were for him purely artificial.

It is interesting to note that these conventional references to the Bretons in the Lay have in turn influenced opinions concerning the saga. Deutschbein,⁴⁸ who believes in a derivation of the saga independent of the Bretons, deduces from the greater Breton coloring which characterizes the Lay, that the Bretons (Armoricans) "Bretonized" the material slightly as they handed it on to the Anglo-Normans.⁴⁹

But it is now clear that, whatever the relation between the Bretons and the saga of *Havelok*, no evidence concerning them is to be drawn from the Lay. The "Bretonizing" in the *Lai d'Haveloc* is the effort of one man to give Breton coloring to a finished literary product, in order to make it conform to a certain ideal which he had in mind—the type of lay which Marie de France composed. He introduced the allusions arbitrarily,

⁴⁷ The author of *Havelok* has imitated Marie in a mannerism of hers which is, in turn, probably due to the influence of Wace over her. Cf. *English Words in the Lais of Marie de France*, *Modern Language Notes*, 1905, XX, 109-111, by L. Foulet.

⁴⁸ Warnke (p. xv) says that Arthurian Bretons would not have composed a lay on their enemies. Deutschbein (p. 140) says that the Armoricans had nothing to do with the legend or they would not have made Edelsi their compatriot.

⁴⁹ Deutschbein, *op. cit.* p. 148.

and they cannot be considered as giving trustworthy information regarding either the Bretons or their lays.

The only point of positive testimony, then, to be drawn from the study of *Havelok* in this connection, is that the expression *Li Breton en firent un lai* is in one case, at least, as conventional as Lot suggested that it was. And if the words were used in *Havelok* without question, is it not probable that they had no more definite meaning in other works of the period?

I realize, of course, how easy it is to find what one is seeking in the way of literary connections and I do not claim that any one of the following suggestions has great specific value. But a series of such resemblances assuredly appears significant, and especially so since we have already seen the author's imitation of the prologues and epilogues of Marie and his slavish use of Gaimar.

(B) MARIE'S INFLUENCE ON THE AUTHOR'S TREATMENT OF THE STORY

In the comparison made between the French Lay and Gaimar, numerous variations in events and in details of the story of *Havelok* were observed. To weigh these differences and determine the author's method of composing a Breton lay from his borrowed material will be the next step in the study of the poem. It will be necessary also to keep the *Lais* of Marie in mind, and to note any suggestions of her influence, should such appear, since we know from the investigation of the external form of the Lay that the author had these poems in mind as he wrote.

(a) Modifications of important events of the story

(1) *Havelok's* departure from Grimsby (157-192). Compare with this: (a) *Milun*:

La dame ki lur fiz nurri,
(tant ot esté ensemble od li
qu'il esteit venuz en eé),
a chevalier l'a adubé.
Mult i aveit gent dameisel. (289-293)

She then tells Milun of his father; he is told to show his prowess: "fors de la terre e del païs." His leave-taking is described in the following words:

Il ne demure fors le seir ;
el demain aveit pris cungié.
La dame l'a mult chastié
e de bien faire amonesté
asez li a avoir doné. (312-316)

Compare also: (b) *Guigemar*. Marie gives Guigemar's name, saying that he is handsome and beloved of father and mother. He is sent to court to serve the king.

Quant il le pout partir de sei,
si l'enveia servir le rei.
Li vadlez fu sages e pruz ;
Mult se faiseit amer de tuz.
Quant fu venuz termes e tens
que il aveit cage e sens,
li reis l'adube richement ;
armes li dune a sun talent.
Guigemar se part de la curt ;
En Flandres vait pur sun pris querre. (41-51)

The details of these scenes are changed to suit the circumstances in which Havelok finds himself. Since degradation is to be his lot at court the knighting of Havelok is postponed, but the outlines of the parting are the same—a short description of the youth, the instructions given him, the gifts presented, and his departure.⁵⁰ Grim's instructions are practical, bearing on his life at court. *A tote gent te fai amer* (180) may be due to the influence of Gaimar (44). It may, however, be derived from Gaimar's description (139-140), from which passage nearly all the other details of Grim's counsel are drawn. The equipment of the knight, adapted to the situation, becomes a new suit of clothes.

(2) The scene between the barons and Alsì.

Gaimar states merely that Edelsi covets the kingdom and marries his niece to his "quistrun" Cuheran. The question arises: how could he do such a thing with impunity? The

⁵⁰ Cf. also description in *Milun*, Mult i aveit gent dameisel (293). Also *Guigemar* (38-40), el realme nen out plus bel. A merveille l'amot sa mere, e mult esteit bien de sun pere.

author of the Lay explains this by the invention of a scene between Alsi and his barons, a scene which was probably suggested by one of the *Lais* of Marie. She, in fact, makes frequent allusions to the barons assembled at court.⁵¹ In *Lanval* the barons play a prominent part in the trial scene. Although the character of this scene of *Lanval* differs totally from that of *Havelok*, yet the general idea of the court scene is carried out in *Havelok*. In *Havelok* the barons assemble to make a demand of the king; he asks for time to consult his advisers and another day is set for the meeting:

Terme lur mist et ior noma,
A repaier les comanda
Quant il se serra conseillez. (299-301)

His counsellors offer a suggestion, but he tells them his purpose and announces that he will brook no resistance. He comes with them to the assembly hall where he has had guards stationed, "au ior qil out a ceus nome." He then makes a speech to the nobles who murmur but are restrained by the presence of the guards.

In the lay of *Lanval* the king sends for his men to judge Lanval, who has said that his lady is fairer than the queen (384). They meet and decide, as follows:

que Lanval deit avoir un jur,
mes pleges truisse a sun seignur
qu'il atendra sun jugement
e revendra en sun present;
si sera la curz enforciee,
kar dunc n'i ot fors sa maisniee. (391-396)

The barons return, announce their decision (397-398); on the appointed day they reassemble:

Al jur que cil orent numé,
li barun furent asemblé.
Li reis e la reine i fu. (417-419)

They proceed to judge Lanval:

Li reis demande le recort
sulunc le cleim e le respuns:
Il sunt al jugement alé. (426-429)

⁵¹ *Bisc.* 186, *Chiev.* 40, and *Lanv.*

Some wish to condemn Lanval to please the king, but they decide that he must present his lady that they may judge. A deputation announces this decree to Lanval, who says he cannot comply with the command. The king urges his judges to decide. They are interrupted, urged again by the king, interrupted a second time, and, after a third summons from the king, they give the verdict, acquitting Lanval.⁵²

In spite of the divergence of the subject matter, there is a correspondence between the general outlines of these two scenes. Possibly another of Marie's *Lais*, *Le Fraisne*, may have suggested something to the author of *Havelok* concerning the assembly of his barons. They insist that Alsi marry Argentille, who is now of age, to a suitable person, as he had promised to do. In *Le Fraisne*, the subjects demand that Garun should marry.

Lungement ot od lui esté,
 tant que li chevalier fiefé
 a mult grant mal li aturnerent.
 Soventes feiz a lui parlerent,
 qu'une gentil femme espusast
 e de cele se delivrast.
 Lié sereient, s'il eüst heir
 ki après lui peüst avoir
 sa terre e sun grant heritage
 .
 Ja mes pur seignur nel tendrunt
 ne volentiers nel servirunt,
 se il ne fait lur volenté
 Li chevaliers a graanté
 qu'a lur conseil femme prendra.

(²¹²325-339) ; . \

(3) The chamberlain.

Neither chamberlain nor hermit appears in Gaimar. This character of chamberlain is prominent, however, in *Horn*, *Tristan* and the *Lais*. Cf. *Guigemar*, (579 ff.); *Le Fraisne*, (403 ff.); and *Eliduc*, in which Gilliadun's chamberlain advises her (335-455) and in which Eliduc's serves him (767-805). The second mention of the chamberlain in *Havelok* corresponds closely to this passage in general tone. Sygar sends him to see Havelok's flame instead of going himself.⁵³ Argentille's chamberlain aids her in her trouble as Gilliadun's does in *Eliduc*.

⁵² *Lanval*, 417-646.

⁵³ Vn son priue iad mande

Pur saueir quant cil dormira, etc. (830-831)

Le chamberlenc out grant poour. (839)

(4) The hermit.

Eliduc contains also the mention of a hermit. This hermit is dead so that the story has nothing to do with him, excepting that *Eliduc* had turned to him for help, and, on finding him dead, had left Gilliadun's body in his cell. His chapel is the scene of an important part of the story. The description of the hermit is as follows:

Une forest avait en tur,
trente liwes ot de lungur,
Uns seinz hermites i maneit
E une chapele i aveit;
quarante anz i aveit esté.

A la chapele sunt venu,
Apelé i unt e batu;

Uit jurs esteit devant finiz
li seinz hermites, li parfiz. (889-893, 911-912, 917-918)

It may be, however, that the development of the part of the hermit is due to some other literary work of the period in which hermits figured more extensively.

(5) Havelok is dubbed knight.

The knighting is performed by Sygar (928). Cf. *Guigemar* (47); *Yonec* (470); *Milun* (10, 292).

(6) The single combat with Hodulf.

The single contest replaces the battle between the two hosts, described by Gaimar (740-744):

Ensemble vindrent li baron,
Requistrent soi come leon.
Haueloc fut de grant vertu;
Le roi Hodulf ad si feru
Dune hache qil apporta,
Qil labatit, puis ne leua,
Iloec loccist deuant sa gent. (959-965)

If we compare these lines with the description of *Milun's* contest with his father we note a general resemblance. The outcome as well as the attendant circumstances of the two duels are, of course, very different.

Milun le vit si cuntenir,
Si bien puindre e si bien ferir :

El renc se met encuntre lui,
ensemble justerent amdui.
Milun le fiert si durement,
l'anste depiece veirement,
mes ne l'aveit mie abatu.
Cil raveit si Milun feru
que jus del cheval l'abati. (409-419)

It is evident, therefore, that certain innovations which the author of the Lay has introduced into Gaimar's material, can be explained by a desire on his part to imitate the general style of certain scenes of Marie's *Lais*. These scenes, we have noted, were those representing the departure of a young page, the gathering of barons at the court, the part of such personages as the chamberlains of the court or castle, and the single combat of knights. The interesting fact which this comparison has shown is that these scenes are all of the same type, inasmuch as they all afford glimpses of the important events in the life of the time in an aristocratic and courtly environment. They are scenes from Marie's *Lais* which contain the courtly setting of the adventure. The resemblances between the passages in the *Lais* and in Havelok, we have seen, were general resemblances, sometimes involving more than one of her *Lais* and often differing in actual circumstances. It is impossible to say that this or that passage of Havelok is imitated exactly or directly from a certain one of Marie's *Lais*. What is undeniable is that the atmosphere of her *Lais* has been borrowed, and that the sturdy hero of Gaimar's story in becoming the hero of a lay, has been transplanted into a more courtly environment, where he moves as another Guigemar. It is curiously interesting to find that our author in his endeavor to make a narrative lay connected with the Bretons, has borrowed from Marie exactly what was most French and least Breton in her *Lais*—i.e. the more or less faithful description of the customs and life of the French or Anglo-Norman aristocratic society of her own time. To obtain this courtly coloring, our author has occasionally altered details in his material, and has presented scenes which were not in his source, but which could easily have been inspired by the general tone of the *Lais*.

(b) Details of description

The changes made in the Lay to modify the general tone, by the addition or suppression of details, are not such as correspond to any special lay of Marie's but reflect rather the courtly tone of the whole collection. Sometimes such changes have affected an important alteration in the poem; sometimes they have merely softened and refined a description. Such modifications of tone are the following:

- (1) Grim is made a baron instead of a fisherman.
- (2) The queen is buried beside the king. This is an instance of the care to show chivalrous deference to woman, and to mention her where it is possible.
- (3) The treatment of the wedding night is much more refined than Gaimar's. Argentele does not repine and complain to the king of Havelok after her marriage, as she does in Gaimar's account. Havelok turns from her but it is because he wishes to hide his flame from her. The author adds that they were gradually reconciled to each other:

Mes puis sasseurerent tant,
Et par parole et par semblant,
Qu'il ama.

(4) Gaimar's passage in which Kelloc and her husband discuss the wisdom of telling Havelok about himself is omitted, and simply reflected in the one line of Kelloc's speech: *Bien te cieles, si ieo le te di* (592). This hesitation on the part of Kelloc, and the tone which she used in Gaimar's account, when she spoke of Havelok, was not that of a respectful vassal.

(5) Kelloc's husband himself accompanies Havelok to Denmark. In Gaimar's story, Kelloc and her husband equip him and send him with Don Alger the merchant. Kelloc says to him in the Lay:

Mon seignur vus i conduiera,
Dedenz sa nef vus passera.

This also shows more respectful deference to a feudal lord.

(6) Sygar himself first does homage to Havelok, thus showing the same deference. In *G* he is the last.

(7) In the scene of the shipwreck, the author of the Lay emphasizes the fierceness of the attack and the valor of those with Havelok.

(8) Argentille is given a more prominent part in details unimportant in themselves.

(9) Other modifications have in turn resulted from these. Grim's high estate may account for his guardianship, although it is more likely that his position of guardian brought about his change of estate. His rank is certainly responsible for the invention of the castle, the plans for flight, and the scene of the embarkation.

Certain other details added to the narrative are undoubtedly due to the author's own fancy and invention because he wishes to enliven his story, or make it more clear and connected. Compare for example his description of the meal at Sygar's, which Gaimar merely mentioned in a later part of his account, or Alsi's jests, or the allusions to the founding of Grimsby.

These changes abound and are sometimes not free from inconsistency or absurdity, as in the case of Baron Grim, already referred to, who incongruously caught fish in Grimsby *si com il soloit*, and who was spared by the outlaws because he was their *conoissant*. The same thing is true of the dream, which represents the events which were to befall Havelok. The author of the Lay changed these points, so that the battle became a single contest, but the dream he neglected to change; the foxes who represent Hodulf's men in the dream are destroyed, as in Gaimar's version.

CONCLUSION

These modifications may be largely due to Marie, but they are not exclusively the result of her influence. Since we know, however, the debt the author owed Marie in other ways, it is not assuming too much perhaps to give her *Lais* credit for the greater part of such changes in general tone as we have just been considering. The author's taste and environment and other literature of the period contributed the rest.

The composition of this Lay proceeded differently from that of the majority of the anonymous lays already examined by others. All but a few of these lays were the product of the more or less skillful fusion of two or more lays of Marie's collection, sometimes with changes invented by the author, or with the introduction of material derived from another anonymous lay, or from a source such as *Tristan*. Such stories were furnished with prologue, epilogue, and references to the Bretons closely copied from Marie. This Lay has the same external form, but it has as its source one definite poem, which was reworked according to the fancy and poetic ideal of the author.

Our author has sometimes marred the beauty of the primitive details of Gaimar, as we have observed. Especially is this shown in his making Grim a baron, and replacing the poetic flight of the queen to the shore with her son, and the protection given her by the fisherman Grim, by the inconsistent scene of the guardianship of the baron Grim and the formal embarkation, details which are not in harmony with the primitive features of the story.

This general contrast between the artificial, courtly atmosphere of the work and the primitive traits of the story, especially when the author fails to carry out his modifications consistently, is often wearying. He has, however, on the whole not injured his material by his treatment of it. The clearer, more polished and graceful Lay is a better literary product than Gaimar's account, which is often crude and obscure, now giving unnecessary detail (as in the case of the enumera-

tion of the fishes caught by Grim), now condensing until picturesque effect or even clearness is lost. When we compare the Lay and Gaimar's version we see that the writer has with the courtly tone and coloring of the *Lais* of Marie apparently imbibed something of her grace and ease. We see too that he had more talent than Gaimar for this kind of narration. In justice to Gaimar it must be said, however, that his story of *Havelok* is but a small episode in a long work, whereas the Lay is a short poem studied in every detail and elaborated with the greatest care.

The method followed by the author of *Havelok* suggests a question concerning his predecessor in this form of literature. If this poet, who presumably wrote the *Lai d'Haveloc* not long after the appearance of Marie's lays, composed a lay in this fashion, and nevertheless asserted firmly that the Bretons made a lay on *Havelok*, may it not be that our faith in Marie's own statements of the same kind do not always rest on a solid basis?

We see from the study of the later anonymous lays and from *Havelok* that this type of literature—the lay—practically begins and ends with Marie. May she not, at least occasionally, have used material as foreign to the Bretons as is our story, and may she not have made the same assertions as did the author of *Havelok*, with no better foundation for them? In any case, since Marie is left in a more and more isolated position, as the conventionality and insincerity of the allusions to the Bretons and their lays become known, we cannot escape the fear that some day our faith in her words about the Bretons and their lays will be as rudely shaken as has been our trust in the statements of the author of the *Lai d'Haveloc*.

